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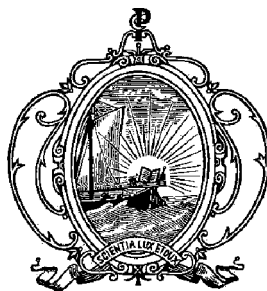
**The Armenian Adaptation of the
Ecclesiastical History of
Socrates Scholasticus**

[Commonly known as “The Shorter Socrates”]

Translation of the Armenian Text and Commentary

by

Robert W. Thomson



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PREFACE

The text studied below is the so-called “Shorter” Armenian version of the *Ecclesiastical History* by Socrates Scholasticus. This Armenian text is not a translation from the original Greek version of the *History*, but an adaptation of the full text already available in Armenian. The importance of this adaptation is twofold. In the first instance, the second version became more popular in Armenia than the original translation, and thus had a significant impact on later Armenian historians and chroniclers who dealt with the period covered by Socrates. Secondly, the changes made by the reviser shed light on the interests and concerns of his circle. As a major document of importance within Armenia, the “shorter Socrates” is therefore well worth investigation in its own right, not merely as a potential witness to the Greek original.

My personal involvement with this document sprang from a more general interest in Armenian adaptations of histories, of which the two best known are the adaptations of the Georgian Chronicles and of the Syriac Chronicle of the Patriarch Michael. Both of these were made in the thirteenth century, while the “shorter” Socrates is of the late seventh. But only in the case of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates do we possess in Armenian two renderings, one carefully translating the original Greek without significant changes, the other much abbreviated yet containing new additional material. The translation below highlights these additions, while the commentary (in addition to explaining obscurities) points to parallels in earlier Armenian compositions.

I am grateful to Professor Michael Stone, not only for accepting this work in the Hebrew University Armenian Series but also for the invitation to participate in a Workshop at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study at Wassenaar in the Netherlands in May 1998. The Workshop (organised by the Association internationale des Études arméniennes) was devoted to “Classical Culture in the Oriental Languages.” There I was able to give a preliminary analysis of the character of the “shorter” Socrates and to meet Erna Shirinyan, who was responsible for the study of the Armenian versions incorporated in the critical edition of the Greek by G.C. Hansen; this appeared as the first volume of the new series of the *Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller* [Berlin] in 1995.

Over the past year I have been in close contact with Dr Shirinyan, and would like to express my gratitude for her help and comments. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for the views expressed below concerning the purpose and date of the revised Armenian text of Socrates.

Oxford
January 2001

Robert W. Thomson

TRANSCRIPTION OF ARMENIAN

Armenian words are transcribed in accordance with the system used in the *Revue des études arméniennes*:

<i>ա</i>	<i>բ</i>	<i>գ</i>	<i>դ</i>	<i>ե</i>	<i>զ</i>	<i>է</i>	<i>թ</i>	<i>ժ</i>	<i>ի</i>	<i>լ</i>	<i>խ</i>
a	b	g	d	e	z	ē	t'	ž	i	l	x
<i>ծ</i>	<i>կ</i>	<i>հ</i>	<i>յ</i>	<i>ղ</i>	<i>ճ</i>	<i>մ</i>	<i>յ</i>	<i>ն</i>	<i>շ</i>	<i>ո</i>	<i>չ</i>
c	k	h	j	l	č	m	y	n	š	o	č'
<i>պ</i>	<i>ջ</i>	<i>ր</i>	<i>ս</i>	<i>տ</i>	<i>վ</i>	<i>ր</i>	<i>ց</i>	<i>ւ</i>	<i>փ</i>	<i>ք</i>	<i>օ</i>
p	ǰ	r	s	t	v	r	c'	w	p'	k'	ō
						<i>ֆ</i>	<i>ւ</i>				
						f	u				

All non-Armenian proper names are rendered in their customary English form. A transcription of their Armenian equivalents would not always be recognizable. Thus "Constantius," not "Kostand," etc.

ABBREVIATIONS

Aa	The Armenian text of Agat'angelos. <i>See</i> Armenian Texts
ACW	<i>Ancient Christian Writers</i>
AIPHOS	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves</i>
Clavis	<i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum. See</i> Secondary Literature
CP	Constantinople
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
DOB	<i>Dictionary of Byzantium. See</i> Secondary Literature
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DSALL	<i>Dutch Studies in Armenian Language and Literature</i>
EH	<i>Epic Histories. See</i> Armenian Texts, <i>Buzandaran.</i>
GCS	<i>Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i>
GT'	<i>Girk' T't'oc'. See</i> Armenian Texts
HA	<i>Handes Amsorya</i>
Hansen	Editor of the Greek text of Socrates
HATS	<i>Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
Lampe	<i>See</i> Secondary Literature
LM	<i>Le Muséon</i>
Movsēsean	Editor of the Armenian text of Socrates
MSJ	<i>Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph</i>
NBHL	<i>Nor Baṙgirk' Haykazean Lezui. See</i> Armenian Texts
MX	Movsēs Xorenac'i. <i>See</i> Armenian Texts
OC	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
OCA	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
PBH	<i>Patma-banasirakan Handes</i>
PLRE	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire. See</i> Secondary Literature
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
REArm	<i>Revue des études arméniennes</i>
SI	The original Armenian translation of Socrates
SII	The later adaptation of the Armenian Socrates, translated below

<i>SH</i>	<i>Subsidia Hagiographica</i>
<i>Soc</i>	The Greek text of Socrates. <i>See</i> Other Texts
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
<i>TTH</i>	<i>Translated Texts for Historians</i>
<i>UPATS</i>	<i>University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>VV</i>	<i>Vark' ew V kayabanut' iwnk' . See</i> Armenian Texts
<i>ZAP</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für armenischen Philologie</i>

CHAPTER HEADINGS IN SII

Since SII has incorporated the *History of the Life of Saint Silvester* as the first section of the *Ecclesiastical History*, the abbreviated version of the latter begins with "Chapter 14." The parallel sections of the Greek text for each chapter have been added in parentheses.

[Book I]

- Chapter 14: [I, 1-10] Constantine, after ruling alone over all the kings, makes his brother-in-law Licinius emperor; who, after persecuting the Christians, opposed Constantine, was captured and killed
- Chapter 15: [I, 11-12] The history of Paphnutius, what he did, and of the deacons, and of Spiridon and his miracles
- Chapter 16: [I, 13.1-10] Concerning the ascetic Eutychianos and his miracles
- Chapter 17: [I, 13.11-15] Concerning the council in Nicaea. The exile of Arius to the mines, and the words in forewarning of saint Athanasius
- Chapter 18: [I, 16] The construction of Constantinople, its being named "New Rome," and its buildings
- Chapter 19: [I, 17-18.3] The history of Helen, mother of Constantine, worthy of record; her building of the holy places in Jerusalem, her finding the holy Cross and bringing it to Constantinople, and her death
- Chapter 20: [I, 18.4] Barbarians attack the land of Rome and [Constantine's] victory over them
- Chapter 21: [I, 18.5-14] The emperor Constantine during his lifetime builds the churches of Mambre through Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea. The evil custom of Phoenicia is abolished. He builds a church in Heliopolis. He abolishes the altars of the oracle demon in Cilicia
- Chapter 22: [I, 19] Concerning the faith in God of India and Inner India through holy men
- Chapter 23: [I, 20] The call of the Iberians to Christ's faith according to God's providence through the woman Nunē, one of the companions of the holy Rhipsimē; and the setting up of crosses

- Chapter 24: [I, 21-22.2] The history and life of Antony the hermit
 Chapter 25: [I, 22.3-15] Concerning Mani and his fairy-tales, and his death
 Chapter 26: [I, 23-24] Concerning the return of Arius from the mines
 Chapter 27: [I, 25-27.1] How they tried to justify Arius, and he was sent to Alexandria
 Chapter 28: [I, 27.2-35] Concerning the false accusation against Athanasius and his exile
 Chapter 29: [I, 37-38.10] Concerning the death of Arius
 Chapter 30: [I, 38.11-40] How Constantine appointed his sons as rulers over all his territory; and he himself fell ill and died in Nicomedia, and was carried to Constantinople

[Book II]

- Chapter 31: [II, 2-3] The actions and deeds of the Arians Eusebius and Theognis, and efforts for the deposition of Athanasius
 Chapter 32: [II, 4] Concerning the death of the bishop Eusebius Pamphilus, and the succession in his place of Acacius
 Chapter 33: [II, 5-7] How Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, departed this world and chose in his place Paul; but some wished for Macedonius
 Chapter 34: [II, 8-11] The council of bishops in Antioch at the emperor's command, who wished to promote the sect of Arianism and condemned Athanasius
 Chapter 35: [II, 12-16] Paul, the bishop of Constantinople, is deposed, and Macedonius seeks [election] by the choice of the Arians
 Chapter 36: [II, 17-18] How Arianism was inclined to increase and led to the condemnation of Athanasius
 Chapter 37: [II, 20-25] Concerning the council of Sardica; and the return of Athanasius and Paul to their places
 Chapter 38: [II, 26-27] By the deceit of the Arians they strangle Paul, bishop of Constantinople in exile, and wish to slay Athanasius and Theodore and Lucius
 Chapter 39: [II, 28.1-14] How George, the Arian bishop, inflicted many evils on the saints of God in the city of Alexandria
 Chapter 40: [II, 28.21-23] The emperor Constantius makes his nephew Gallus Caesar; the holy cross appears in the eastern regions
 Chapter 41: [II, 29-34.5] Photinus, disciple of Marcellus, teaches new errors. A council is held; he and those of his party are anathematised

- Chapter 42: [II, 34.6-38.2] Constantius stirs up war on the church
 Chapter 43: [II, 38.3-44] Concerning bishop Macedonius, [who] had authority among the saints of God, and his death
 Chapter 44: [II, 41-47] The number of the special councils is indicated, how many they were

[Book III]

- Chapter 45: [III, 1] How Julian reigned, and his actions
 Chapter 46: [III, 2] Concerning the disturbance in Alexandria; and George the Arian, who occupied the place of Athanasius, for some reason was seized and burned alive
 Chapter 47: [III, 3-4] The return of Athanasius from persecution to his own place in Alexandria, and the exile of the Arians
 Chapter 48: The Declaration [of faith] of saint Athanasius
 Chapter 49: [III, 11-14] Concerning the afflictions brought about by Julian, whereby he oppressed the Christians; and concerning his wish to kill saint Athanasius
 Chapter 50: [III, 15-16] Concerning the destruction of the temples of the idols by Christians, and their heroism
 Chapter 51: [III, 16] Concerning Apollinarius and his art, and the heresy which he introduced into the church
 Chapter 52: [III, 17-20.2] Concerning the persecutions caused by Julian, and his tormenting the saints of God
 Chapter 53: [III, 20.3-15] How Julian commanded the Jews to go to Jerusalem and to build the temple; and how immediately it collapsed from an earthquake. The sign of the cross appeared on the garments of the Jews. Julian kills saint Cyril, the bishop in Jerusalem, and his mother; and characteristics of the Cyrils
 Chapter 54: [III, 21-22.1] Concerning the death of the foul Julian
 Chapter 55: [III, 22.1-9] How he wrote books; and how Jovian reigned, and how he made a treaty with the Persians
 Chapter 56: [III, 22.10-23.61] How Julian's sophist delivered an elegy on Julian, and his dissolute person
 Chapter 57: [III, 24-26.1] Concerning the return of Jovian from the war and his restoring Christianity; and how Athanasius was restored to his see by the command of Jovian, and ease for the Christians came about
 Chapter 58: [III, 26.1-6] Concerning Jovian's going to bury Julian, and how he was eulogised. And on coming to Constantinople he died [at] a village, having reigned for seven months

[Book IV]

- Chapter 59: [IV, 1-1.12] How Valentinian was elected to the empire, and takes his brother Valens as a colleague for the empire
- Chapter 60: [IV, 1.13-17] Who were the prelates of the church at that time
- Chapter 61: [IV, 2] How Valentinian went to the region of the west, and Valens to Constantinople, for the administration of the country
- Chapter 62: [IV, 3-5] A certain tyrant Procopius attacks Valens in battle; he is seized and killed
- Chapter 63: [IV, 6-9] How Valens raised up war against the orthodox, and also destroyed the wall of Chalcedon
- Chapter 64: [IV, 11] Concerning the hail, the earthquake, and the terror; and concerning the wickedness of Valens
- Chapter 65: [IV, 12-13] The persecution of the orthodox by Valens; and saint Athanasius goes into hiding
- Chapter 66: [IV, 14-17] The death of Eudoxius, bishop of Constantinople; in his place the Arians put Demophilus, but the orthodox party [appointed] a certain Evagrius. Afflictions on the orthodox by Valens
- Chapter 67: [IV, 18] Concerning the shrine of the apostle Thomas and events in it
- Chapter 68: [IV, 19] Concerning the demon and what deceits it performed through sorcery; and the killing of some because of their common name
- Chapter 69: [IV, 20] Concerning the brave patience and death of saint Athanasius; and the appointment of Peter, a pious man
- Chapter 70: [IV, 21-22] Concerning Valens's maltreatment of Peter; and Lucius of the Arians occupies the churches
- Chapter 71: [IV, 23.1-16] Concerning the asceticism and life of the pious Amoun
- Chapter 72: [IV, 23.18-21] The lives of the holy men, the ascetics
- Chapter 73: [IV, 23.22-27] Concerning Pabas
- Chapter 74: [IV, 23.28-29] Concerning Arsenius
- Chapter 75: [IV, 23.30-33] Concerning the Macarii
- Chapter 76: [IV, 23.34-38] Concerning Evagrius
- Chapter 77: [IV, 23.39-65] Concerning Antony and some others
- Chapter 78: [IV, 23.66-67] Concerning Basil, what he says about the providence of contingent knowledge
- Chapter 79: [IV, 23.68-69] Concerning Athanasius and Serapion, what they said about provident knowledge

- Chapter 80: [IV, 23.70-80] What Didymus and others said
- Chapter 81: [IV, 24.1-11] How Macarius of Egypt and another Alexandrian converted the distant islands inhabited by barbarians, and illuminated them
- Chapter 82: [IV, 24.12-18] How Valens made persecution at the instigation of Lucius after the death of Athanasius
- Chapter 83: [IV, 25] Concerning the writings of the famous Didymus and his prudent intelligence
- Chapter 84: [IV, 26.1-24] Concerning the life and history of saint Basil
- Chapter 85: [IV, 26.27] Concerning the life of Gregory of Nazianzus called "the Theologian"
- Chapter 86: [IV, 26.26-27] Concerning Peter and Gregory, the brothers of Basil
- Chapter 87: [IV, 27] Concerning Gregory of Pontus called the Wonderworker, and concerning the Gregories, that is, the Theologian, of Nyssa, the Wonderworker
- Chapter 88: [IV, 28-29] The origin of the Novatians, whereby they were separated from each other; and their celebrating the feast of Easter of unleavened bread with the Jews
- Chapter 89: [IV, 30] Concerning the episcopacy of Ambrose
- Chapter 90: [IV, 31] How Valentinian attacked the Sarmatians, and how he was killed. His son, of the same name Valentinian, became emperor
- Chapter 91: [IV, 32] Valens raises war against the orthodox
- Chapter 92: [IV, 33-35] The barbarian nation of the Goths, after wars against the Romans, accepted the faith of Christ; and the bishop of the Goths defines a script for them
- Chapter 93: [IV, 36] Mavia the general with the Tachik nation raises war against the Romans; and a certain Tachik, Moses by name, reconciles them
- Chapter 94: [IV, 38] Valens is mocked by the people of Constantinople. He goes to attack Adrianople and is burned by fire
- Chapter 95: [IV, 37] Bishop Peter returns to Alexandria, and Lucius is expelled from the city

[Book V]

- Chapter 96: [V, 2] Concerning the reign of Gratian after the death of Valens
- Chapter 97: [V, 3-5] Who were those who at that time were the overseers of great sees

- Chapter 98: The discourses of Gregory the Theologian concerning the orthodox
- Chapter 99: [V, 6-8.12] The emperor Theodosius, after victory over the barbarians, returns and comes to Thessalonica. He is baptised by Acholios, and comes to Constantinople. A council of bishops is held in opposition to Macedonius and for the profession of the orthodox faith
- Chapter 100: [V, 8.13-20] The tradition of the holy council of Constantinople; those who are entitled to seniority after the single patriarchate
- Chapter 101: [V, 9-10.5] How the emperor Theodosius transferred from Kukusos of Armenia to Constantinople the body of Paul, bishop of Constantinople, who had been strangled in exile
- Chapter 102: [V, 10.6-30] How the emperor Theodosius requested the details of each sect, and with prayers begged God to reveal the right [faith]. He read their writings, and being inspired by God set in his mind to remain in the faith of consubstantiality. And he reproved their evil blasphemy
- Chapter 103: [V, 11-14] How the tyrant Maximianos from the western regions rose up in the east against the Romans; and Gratian was killed by Maximianos
- Chapter 104: [V, 15.1-9] Paulinus, bishop of Antioch, dies; and Flavian holds the bishopric of Antioch and expels the Arians
- Chapter 105: [V, 15.9] Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, dies
- Chapter 106: [V, 16-17] For what reason there was a disturbance in the city of Alexandria; and how Theophilus, at the emperor's wish, abolished various games, and also [destroyed] altars and temples
- Chapter 107: [V, 18.] How the emperor Theodosius, while staying in Rome, made peace, removed the infamies, that is the house of bread and the brothels and the other mechanical [contrivances], stopped the evil pagan habits, and returned to Constantinople
- Chapter 108: [V, 19] The gentleness of the pious Theodosius, and other upright actions of his
- Chapter 109: [V, 19.5-9] Concerning the priest who revealed the sins of a noble woman who had confessed, who [committed adultery] with the deacon
- Chapter 110: [V, 20-24] How there were divisions among all schisms concerning the Easter of the Novatians, and concerning the fast of holy Easter. Concerning the readings a division also among the

- Arians. Those who had separated were reunited and joined the orthodox
- Chapter 111: On the resurrection of the youths of Ephesus
- Chapter 112: [V, 25.1-6] How the grammarian Eugenius became a tyrant. He strangles the emperor Valentinian asleep on his bed, and seizes Rome and power
- Chapter 113: [V, 25.7-16] How Theodosius, on hearing of the murder of Valentinian, reaches Gaul with his army and attacks the tyrant. The tyrant is defeated and his head cut off
- Chapter 114: [V, 26-VI, 1.1] The pious Theodosius makes his own son Honorius emperor in the western regions; and falling ill himself, dies on January 17

[Book VI]

- Chapter 115: [VI, 1.2-8] Who were the prelates of the church at that time
- Chapter 116: [VI, 2-4.7] Concerning the election to the diaconate of John Chrysostom; his priesthood, patriarchate, and eulogy of his life
- Chapter 117: [VI, 4.8-5.1] Continuation of the account about the same; and how he reproved many
- Chapter 118: [VI, 5.3-6.1] How the royal custom was for punishment, and hastening [for refuge] to the church
- Chapter 119: [VI, 6.2-37] The evil of the tyrant Gainas; how he was defeated and killed
- Chapter 120: [VI, 6.39-7.10] How Fravitus raised up war on the church, saying either God has a body or he is incorporeal; and how Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, confessed the Godhead to be incorporeal
- Chapter 121: [VI, 7.11-29, 9.1] How four men, leaders of the Egyptian hermitages, [claimed] that they had been insulted by Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria
- Chapter 122: [VI, 9.2-10] How the priest Isidore was slandered
- Chapter 123: [VI, 8.1-9] How he increased both many hymns and the prayers of the evening praise
- Chapter 124: [VI, 8.10-12, 9.11-11.7] The reason for the *Trisagion*, how it is said of the Son
- Chapter 125: [VI, 11.8-14.12] The coming of saint John to Ephesus to ordain a bishop, and the accusation of Serapion
- Chapter 126: [VI, 15-16.4] Council of bishops concerning John, and their exiling him

- Chapter 127: [VI, 16.4-17.12] The consternation of the city concerning John and the glorious introduction of John into the church; and the anger of Theophilus at the return of John
- Chapter 128: [VI, 18] How the empress Eudoxia arranged games near to Saint Sophia, and was reprimanded by John
- Chapter 129: [VI, 21] Once more the holy John is expelled into exile in the regions of Armenia at the will of the empress; and there God's holy one died
- Chapter 130: [VI, 20, 21.3-4] Atticus succeeds to the patriarchate of Constantinople
- Chapter 131: [VI, 22] Concerning Sisinnius, the Novatian bishop
- Chapter 132: [VI, 23-VII, 1] Concerning the death of Arcadius, and the renewal of the wall of Constantinople

[Book VII]

- Chapter 133: [VII, 2.1-7] Concerning the life and admonitions of Atticus
- Chapter 134: [VII, 2.8-3.13] Concerning Theodosius, bishop of Synada in Phrygia, and his afflicting Agapetus, the Macedonian bishop
- Chapter 135: [VII, 4] Concerning the Jewish paralytic, how he was cured on being baptised
- Chapter 136: [VII, 5] Concerning the synod which Atticus wished to convene [concerning] the Novatians, who wanted to celebrate Easter with the Jews
- Chapter 137: [VII, 6-7] How Timotheus and George brought many to consubstantiality. And Cyril succeeds Theophilus [in] the city of Alexandria
- Chapter 138: [VII, 8] What sort of reason was the beginning of Christianity in Persia through saint Marutha
- Chapter 139: [VII, 9-12] Concerning the bishops of Antioch and of Rome, and how Celestine took away the churches of the Novatians
- Chapter 140: [VII, 13] How the Jews were expelled from the city of Alexandria by the patriarch, saint Cyril
- Chapter 141: [VII, 15] How they killed and burned the woman Hypatia, daughter of Theon
- Chapter 142: [VII, 16] The arrogance of the Jews in insulting Christ and the Christians, and their punishment
- Chapter 143: [VII, 17] Concerning the miracle which occurred at the baptism of an imposter and deceitful Jew
- Chapter 144: [VII, 18.1-5] Concerning the persecution of the Christians which occurred in Persia

- Chapter 145: [VII, 18.6-19.1] Another cause of war between the Romans and the Persians, and of the flight of Christians from Persia
- Chapter 146: [VII, 19.2-20.4] Concerning the fast runner Palladius
- Chapter 147: [VII, 20.5-13] Concerning the corps of Persians called "Immortals," how they were killed by Christians
- Chapter 148: [VII, 21.1-6] Concerning the Persians captured by the Christians, how they received freedom from the bishop Acacius; their recall by the Persian king and honouring
- Chapter 149: [VII, 21.7-22.11] Concerning the good fortune of the emperor Theodosius and his surpassing the natural measure of many; and furthermore [praise] by the empress Irene and Socrates the historian
- Chapter 150: [VII, 22.12-14] How the emperor Theodosius showed his benevolence to all, and what sort of hairskin he wore, and how he prayed
- Chapter 151: [VII, 22.15-19] [no title in SII]
- Chapter 152: [VII, 22.20-24.3] Concerning the wonders, how he overcame the tyrant John
- Chapter 153: [VII, 25] How Atticus, the patriarch of Constantinople, organised the churches of God, and at his death consoled the people, having held the bishopric for twenty-one years
- Chapter 154: [VII, 26.1-4] Concerning Sisinnius, how he was chosen for the bishopric of Constantinople
- Chapter 155: [VII, 26.5-27.7] Concerning Philip, the pupil of John, what he composed after John's death
- Chapter 156: [VII, 27.8-28.5] Return to Sisinnius, the patriarch of Constantinople, and his life
- Chapter 157: [VII, 29] The promotion of Nestorius to the bishopric
- Chapter 158: [VII, 30] How the savage people, called the Burgundians, and the territory of those peoples turned to the Christian faith and were baptised
- Chapter 159: [VII, 31] How Nestorius raised conflict against his colleagues in the faith
- Chapter 160: [VII, 32-3] How the priest Anastasius taught the doctrine of Nestorius, that they should not call [Mary] "Mother of God," but "Mother of a man"
- Chapter 161: [VII, 34.1-11] Concerning the council of Ephesus, and the judging of Nestorius, and his exile to Xužastan
- Chapter 162: [VII, 34.12-40.1] How Maximianos took from the exiled Nestorius the throne of Constantinople; and words concerning

- Proclus and Gregory the Theologian and Silvanos. Maximianos dies after being bishop for three years
- Chapter 163: [VII, 40.3-6] How the emperor Theodosius arranged an honourable burial for Maximianos, and installed Proclus on the throne of the patriarchate of Constantinople
- Chapter 164: [VII, 41-42.1] Concerning the promotion of Proclus and his excellent conduct on the patriarchal throne
- Chapter 165: [VII, 42.2-44.3] The emperor Theodosius was mild, and conducted wars against the barbarians not with armies, but rather by power from on high and not with arms; and how he gave his sister to Valentinian, the emperor of Rome; and the marriage
- Chapter 166: [VII, 45] The consolation of Proclus, who in concert with the emperor transferred the body of saint John, after thirty-five years of exile, to Constantinople with much honour
- Chapter 167: [VII, 46] Paul, bishop of the Novatians, a beneficent man and supporter of consubstantiality, dies
- Chapter 168: [VII, 47] The emperor Theodosius, after many other good deeds, sends his wife Eudocia to Jerusalem, which she adorned with buildings and income
- Chapter 169: [VII, 48.1-5] Concerning the death of Proclus and the succession of Flavian
- Chapter 170: How the eparch Thalassius was ordained bishop of Caesarea [Sic! see ch.169]
- Chapter 171: Colophon of the author Socrates

NOTE TO THE READER

Although the text of SII is much shorter than the original Armenian translation, it contains many expansions, both short phrases and longer passages. These have all been printed in *ITALICS* in order to distinguish the abbreviated rendering of original material from the additions.

INTRODUCTION

ARMENIAN HISTORICAL WRITING

It may be worthwhile to put the translation of Socrates's *Ecclesiastical History* and its later reworking into the broader context of Armenian historical writing. The fact that we have two versions of this History — one close to the original, the other less so — provides a useful starting point for an introductory look at Armenian histories in general and the influence of translations of non-Armenian histories on that genre¹.

Writing in the Armenian language began with the invention of a special script for Armenian by Maštoc' at the very beginning of the fifth century². This was part of the process of Christianization of the country. The concern of Maštoc', his colleagues and pupils was with the strengthening of the Armenian church, which had been formally organised under Gregory (the Illuminator) a century previously³. Although prior to the time of Maštoc' Armenians had been literate in Greek, Aramaic, or Persian, nothing had been written in Armenian with a non-Armenian script. Armenian ecclesiastical authorities of the fourth century had striven to eradicate pagan traditions, without complete success⁴. Nonetheless, no tradition of historical writing existed in Armenia which could be taken over by Christian writers. Although there are later references to archives and "family histories,"⁵ for the composition of their own works the first Armenian historians only had access to non-Armenian sources for any written evidence, whereas local traditions had been passed down orally.

¹ For general surveys of early Armenian historical writing see Dowsett, "Armenian Historiography," Mahé, "Entre Moïse et Mahomet," Thomson, "The Writing of History," and further bibliography in Thomson, *A Bibliography*, 264: "Historiography."

² For the life and work of Maštoc' see the *Life* by Koriwn; details of editions and translations in the *Bibliography* below. The recent German translation by Winkler gives a very full description of previous scholarship.

³ For the beginnings of the church in Armenia see Thomson, "Mission and Conversion."

⁴ This is one of the main themes in the *Buzandaran*; see the *Bibliography* below for details of texts and translations; the English translation by Garsoïan is of particular value.

⁵ See Movsēs Xorenac'i [hereafter MX], I 3 and 21, III 1, where he also castigates early Armenian neglect of historical writing; at II 48 and 66 he claims that records existed at Ani before the time of Maštoc'.

THE INFLUENCE OF TRANSLATED TEXTS

The *Life of Maštoc'* by Koriwn makes it clear that following the invention of the script, a concerted effort was made to provide translations into Armenian, whether from Syriac or from Greek, of the word of God — the books of Moses, the prophets, the Gospel, Paul and the apostles. The biblical translations were accompanied by renderings of other ecclesiastical works necessary for the functioning of an Armenian church and for the extended missionary activity undertaken by Maštoc' and his disciples. The development of an original Armenian literature, which took place in this ecclesiastical context, goes hand in hand with translation activity. Greek and Syriac literary traditions were thus formative for the Armenians as they began to shape their own past in written form⁶.

The wider concerns of Armenian scholars soon encompassed more than biblical, liturgical, homiletical, hagiographical and theological works. Although translations are very rarely dated, there is little doubt that within a few generations a great deal of the more secular literature of the fifth century Greek-speaking world was rendered into Armenian, not only histories and literary works, but also the textbooks used in Greek schools, manuals of reference, and technical treatises. Armenians gradually gained access to an ever-widening literature of classical origin, as well as the Christian Greek and Syriac traditions, and were anxious to assimilate secular and technical modes of thought into their own culture.

This is not the place to describe in detail the course of early Armenian literature. Nonetheless, a few specific examples of Armenian histories and their literary antecedents may make these generalisations clearer.

Koriwn

The first original work in Armenian is the biography of Maštoc', inventor of the Armenian script, by his disciple Koriwn. Koriwn had himself been involved in the translation of works from Greek and had joined his colleagues Eznik and Yovsēp' in Constantinople. This group returned to Armenia with copies of the Greek Bible (on which a preliminary translation from Syriac was revised), of unnamed patristic texts, and canons

⁶ For a general survey of translations see Ter-Petrosyan, *Ancient Armenian Translations*, and Zuckermann, *A Repertory*. Further bibliography in Thomson, *A Bibliography*, 74: "Patristics," and 239-52: "Bible" and "Commentaries," and Mahé, "L'Arménie et les Pères de l'Eglise."

of the councils of Nicaea (325) and Ephesus (431). The significance of these works in the contemporary theological disputes that affected the churches of the east is not our present concern⁷. Koriwn's own reference to his translation activities makes it clear that he became acquainted with a wide range of Christian Greek literature. When he came to write the biography of Maštoc' after the latter's death in 439 he was thus familiar with patristic works of a similar kind. The importance of his own biography was the adaptation of a well-known genre to an Armenian subject⁸. The disciples of Maštoc' did not begin writing in Armenian with tentative steps towards literacy but with sophisticated methods that had been assimilated and reworked in an Armenian context.

Agat'angelos

The first full-scale History in Armenian is an account of the historical setting and conversion of the Armenian king Trdat by Gregory "the Illuminator" and the establishment of an organised hierarchy in the country. The Armenian text as it has come down to us is attributed to a certain "Agat'angelos," a fictitious name for an unknown redactor of earlier traditions. This *History of Armenia* is unique in Armenian in that numerous versions are known in Greek, Arabic and other languages — the dramatic events surrounding the conversion of Trdat being a theme which attracted attention throughout Christendom⁹. The History clearly was subject to a process of revision and addition; a long catechism supposedly preached to Trdat by Gregory, for example, is attested in successively elaborate forms¹⁰. What is interesting in the present context, however, is the adaptation of hagiographical *topoi* to the Armenian story. Traditions deriving from events that occurred at the beginning of the fourth century were set in writing towards the end of the fifth. In his development of the story the redactor was influenced by a range of Greek

⁷ For the gradual, but irrevocable, split of the Armenian from the Greek church see now Garsoïan, *Schisme*, with very full bibliography.

⁸ See Mathews, "The Life of Maštoc'."

⁹ See Garitte, *Agathange*, van Esbroeck, "Agathangelos," and Winkler, "Our Present Knowledge." A comparison of the standard Armenian text [hereafter *Aa*] with the major versions may be found in the *Introduction* to the English translation by Thomson; for details see the *Bibliography* below.

¹⁰ The catechism is commonly known as *The Teaching of Saint Gregory*; see van Esbroeck, "Saint Grégoire et sa Didascalie." A revised edition of the 1970 study by Thomson, taking into account recent discoveries of new texts, is in press.

and Syriac texts that provided the literary framework for an original Armenian tale¹¹.

Buzandaran

At the end of the fifth century another anonymous author presented himself as a continuator of "Agat'angelos," familiar with Koriwn as well as a written account of the legendary missionary activity of Addai (Thaddaeus) in Armenia¹². His task was to describe the first generations of the Armenian church and the complicated political situation of Armenia between Rome and Sasanian Iran from the death of Trdat (in 330) to the division of the kingdom circa 387. Combining epic tales of military heroes with the fabulous works of spiritual leaders, he too was influenced by literary forms not originally Armenian.

Elišē

The most sophisticated work of early Armenian historiography is the account of the Armenian rebellion against Sasanian Iran in 450/451 led by Vardan Mamikonean composed by Elišē. Nothing is known for certain about this writer, and it remains disputed whether his *History of Vardan and the Armenian War* predates the *History of Armenia* by Łazar P'arpec'i — which was written at the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries and includes an account of this rebellion closely related to that of Elišē — or is an elaboration of it. Elišē's account of the rebellion and the "martyrdom" of Vardan on the battlefield is an adaptation of the theme of the Maccabees for Armenia, with numerous borrowings from hagiographical works such as the *Acts of the Persian Martyrs*, available in Armenian translation¹³. Even more than Łazar, who acknowledged his debt to Greek learning and his admiration of Greek writers, Elišē uses the device of speeches and letters to bring out the issues involved in this confrontation between Armenia and Iran. Both historians attempt to define the duties of Christian subjects to a Zoroastrian shah, and the

¹¹ These literary parallels are discussed in the *Introduction* to the English translation of Agat'angelos by Thomson.

¹² See Garsoĭan, *EH*, 16-22: "The Original Number of *Dprut'iwnk'*, for the problem of the first two books in this collection, which now begins with Book III.

¹³ For the literary sources of Elišē see the *Introduction* to the English translation by Thomson.

limits of obedience. But it was Elišē's interpretation which was later accepted as the classic version of events; his *History* has remained influential in the formation of Armenian concepts of identity down to the present¹⁴.

Movsēs Xorenac'i

None of the historians mentioned above acknowledges explicitly any non-Armenian source or literary model, save for Łazar's reference to the Greek authors he had studied. Foreign historians did not often include Armenia in their accounts of Middle Eastern history, so it is not surprising that the subjects covered by Agat'angelos or Elišē do not feature in Greek or Latin writers. And the parallels in the *Buzandaran* to the accounts by classical historians pose complicated problems.

The first Armenian historian to quote foreign writers is also the one who first places Armenia in the broader context of the ancient world and the Roman empire. Movsēs Xorenac'i attempted to put the oral traditions about ancient Armenian kings into the context of antiquity as codified in the *Chronicle* of Eusebius. He used the latter's *Ecclesiastical History* in describing the development of the early church insofar as Armenia was concerned; he used Josephus's *Jewish Wars* for information as well as a model for the position of Armenia as a small nation but one which has produced many actions worthy of record; and he drew on a wide range of Greek texts including the *Alexander Romance*, works of Philo, various textbooks of rhetoric, and scholia to Gregory Nazianzenus, as well as the Syriac version of the conversion of Edessa. All of these works were available to him in Armenian translation, and there is no evidence that Movsēs used Greek texts in the original. Of particular importance in the present context is that Movsēs knew the two translations of Socrates¹⁵.

The purpose of the preceding brief review of some early Armenian histories is not to present any new information, but to stress that Armenian writers were familiar with many works originally composed in Greek

¹⁴ Other works are also attributed to Elišē. For a recent discussion see Zekiyan, "Quelques observations critiques."

¹⁵ There is an enormous literature on this *History*, the most famous work in the whole of Armenian literature. For a succinct overview see the *Introduction* to the French translation by A. and J.-P. Mahé; further details in Thomson, *A Bibliography*, 156-68.

and Syriac that were soon translated into Armenian and which they used and adapted for their own purposes. The Greek historians in particular were regarded as models for historical writing. They did of course also provide information about the world outside Armenia. The importance of Eusebius both for his description of the early church in his *Ecclesiastical History* and for his chronological analysis of world history as set out in his *Chronicle* has been noted; and he remained for later generations of Armenians the historian *par excellence*, with whom Movsēs Xorenac'i could be compared among the Armenians¹⁶.

THE ARMENIAN VERSIONS OF SOCRATES

For Armenian writers the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates took second place after Eusebius¹⁷. It did not merely continue the story of the church where Eusebius left off, beginning with a direct reference to the latter's *Ecclesiastical History*, it was especially significant because it began with the reign of Constantine. This emperor's renown as the first Christian head of the Roman empire had a particular resonance in Armenia, for according to Agat'angelos king Trdat and Saint Gregory, the first bishop of Armenia, had visited Constantine and sworn a compact of mutual support. This tradition, an authentication of Armenia's position as a Christian country, was stressed and elaborated over the centuries¹⁸. Secondly, Socrates covered the history of the imperial church from its origins under Constantine to the final debates before Chalcedon. This was the period of (supposed) ecclesiastical harmony between the Roman Empire and Armenia, before the parting of the ways, retrospectively put back to the council of Chalcedon in 451¹⁹. The Armenians continued to hold this century and a half, the high point of patristic theology, in the greatest regard. The first three ecumenical councils (Nicaea in 325, Constantinople in 381, Ephesus in 431) would remain for them the definitive touchstones of orthodoxy²⁰.

¹⁶ On this see further below, 32.

¹⁷ See below, 31-35, for later Armenian writers' comments on Socrates.

¹⁸ For elaborations where Trdat's conversion was dated well before the conversion of Constantine see van Esbroeck, "Legends about Constantine," Thomson, "Constantine and Trdat," and Lieu, "From History to Legend."

¹⁹ For a review of this process see Garsoïan, *Schisme*, 399-409: "Conclusion provisoire."

²⁰ See further the end of this Introduction, 35-40, where the purpose of P'ilon's revision of Socrates is discussed.

One might therefore suppose that, regardless of the degree of literalness or awkwardness in the first rendering, Armenians would wish to have as careful and accurate a text as possible. But that was not the case. However, before discussing in more detail the peculiarities of the second version of Socrates's *Ecclesiastical History*, I would like to mention briefly three types of Armenian translation which do not follow the originals at all closely: those which are expanded in a rhetorical fashion, those which are abbreviated, and those which adapt the original to an Armenian situation. The reworking of Socrates's *History* may then be seen as not so unique or peculiar as at first appears.

OTHER EXAMPLES OF ARMENIAN ADAPTATION

The first example is the Armenian translation of Basil of Caesarea's *Hexaemeron*. As Kim Muradyan pointed out, this text was widely diffused in Armenia and much quoted²¹. The Armenian text was rendered from the Syriac version, not the original Greek. This was not an uncommon phenomenon, the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius being the earliest example. What is peculiar, however, is that in the *Hexaemeron* the Armenian translator did not follow his exemplar closely, like the translator of the *Ecclesiastical History* by Eusebius, but expanded it in a wordy fashion. Admittedly, he did follow the Syriac order of words and many of the Syriac turns of phrase, so that the Armenian is hard to understand without the original. In that he was following Philhellene customs. But the rhetorical elaborations are unusual.

Foreign texts could certainly be interpreted for an Armenian reader. Examples include the very popular *Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy* by David, known as the Invincible Philosopher, where numerous Greek terms are not translated exactly. "Nymphs" are turned into "angels and demons," "Hector" becomes "Tigran," the *aralezk'* are introduced, references to "the poet" are explained as referring to Homer, and so on²². But in the *Hexaemeron* the changes are rather different, being expansions of a non-technical nature²³.

²¹ See his study of Basil in early Armenian literature, *Barsel*. In his 1984 edition of the Armenian text of the *Hexaemeron*, however, he held to its being a translation from Greek, although the previous year Ter-Petrosyan had pointed again to the evidence for a Syriac model; see his "Barsel Kesarac'u."

²² On these various changes see the *Introduction* to Kendall and Thomson.

²³ See Thomson, "The Syriac and Armenian Versions."

The second type of non-literal rendering into Armenian is the abbreviated kind. Here my examples are taken from a later period, because the second version of Socrates seems to be the first of this type. The most notable examples are the Armenian translations of two Chronicles, that in Syriac by the Patriarch Michael, and the collection of texts known as the *Georgian Chronicles*. Like the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates, these deal primarily with events outside Armenia, but with neighbouring peoples whose fortunes were not irrelevant to Armenian history. In both cases the originals are drastically reduced in length, as with Socrates; and in both cases material relevant to Armenia is introduced by the translator. The translation of the *Syriac Chronicle* is associated with the thirteenth century scholar Vardan, whose interest in church history is reflected in significant changes to the earlier part of the original *Chronicle*²⁴. The translator of the *Georgian Chronicles* is unknown, but he was at work probably a little before Vardan. His changes are generally minor and do not concern significant theological positions. He simply introduces some explanations for his readers and adds some points which put Armenia in a good light²⁵. Similarly, the reviser of the first Armenian version of Socrates not only cuts the text dramatically, but also introduces deliberate changes.

The third category of non-literal rendering is exemplified in two variations. In this case an original text unconcerned with Armenia is not merely translated with minor variations, but the whole story is completely changed to involve Armenia²⁶. An obvious example is the *Teaching of Addai*, attributed to Labubna. In this version of early Syrian church history, namely the conversion of Edessa, the missionary Addai/Thaddaeus is said to have come on to Armenia following his successful work in Edessa. The second Armenian version of Socrates is not parallel to this wholesale re-writing of history; the *Teaching of Addai* is an extreme case where translation becomes adaptation.

Another variation, more subtle than the obvious changes to the *Teaching of Addai*, is the deliberate falsification of texts in a polemical situation. A good example would be works by Saint Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, the notable champion of the creed of Nicaea against Arius. The full texts circulated in accurate translations, but the excerpts used in

²⁴ For editions and translations of the Armenian text of Michael see Thomson, *A Bibliography*, 69. For the adaptations made by Vardan and Iṣox see Haase, "Die armenische Rezension," and Schmidt, "Die zweifache armenische Rezension."

²⁵ See the *Introduction* to the English translation of the Armenian and Georgian texts.

²⁶ See Calzolari Bouvier, "Réécriture des textes apocryphes en arménien."

catenae were often distorted in an anti-chalcedonian fashion²⁷. One therefore has to be on the lookout for tendentious changes as well as the rhetorical additions or explanatory glosses mentioned above.

These preliminary remarks indicate that the second, "shorter" version of Socrates's *Ecclesiastical History* is not the only example of the rewriting of a History in Armenia²⁸. It is time, therefore, to turn to the two Armenian versions of this work in greater detail.

THE ORIGINAL TRANSLATION

The problem of the date of the original translation [hereafter SI] is closely linked to that of the revision, for the simple reason that there is only one colophon with a precise date; but although it is attached to the oldest exemplar of SI it seems to refer to the second version [hereafter SII]²⁹. It reads as follows:

"In the year 6204 of [this] transitory life, in accordance with the chronology of Saint Sophia, the great church of the ecumenical metropolis Constantinople, and in the 704th of the coming of Christ, and in the 144th of the [Armenian] era, and in the ninth indiction, in the first year of the reign of the third Leon, emperor Augustus — P'ilon Tirakac'i translated at the first attempt this book partially culled from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates, omitting the personal remarks and the letters of other persons and the speeches, because of the lack of paper and parchment that existed in foreign parts."

There are many problems with this notice. The method of dating is not that of customary Armenian practice, though the figures given agree on AD 695/6³⁰. But the translation is said to have been made "in foreign parts," which may help explain the anomalies. Furthermore, the use of the Armenian era, which takes the year 551 as its starting point, did not

²⁷ See Thomson, "The Transformation of Athanasius."

²⁸ These revisions are to be distinguished from the possibility of more than one translation of a given text being made. Lehmann, for example, draws attention to two renderings of a homily by Severian; see "What translators veil."

²⁹ The oldest exemplar of SI is Jerusalem 2014 of the twelfth century; for a description see the *Catalogue* by Bogharian, VII. The oldest exemplar of SII is Mat 1531, dated to 1289.

³⁰ For these dates see Peeters, "La version arménienne." The emphasis on Constantinople and the Greek dating system points to a connection with a pro-Greek viewpoint. See further below, 37.

become standard as early as the end of the seventh century³¹. Then paper [here *k'arti*, a variant of *բարտեղ* which derives from the Greek *χάρτης*] was not in circulation in the Near East until after the mid-eighth century³². The main point, however, is that P'ilon omitted a good deal of the text of the *History* by Socrates. This notice cannot therefore refer to the original translation, which is faithful and close to the Greek. It is the abbreviated version, SII, which omits the personal comments of Socrates and the extensive quotations from letters and speeches³³.

When this colophon is taken in conjunction with a second notice found in the Jerusalem copy of SI, but also in the oldest copy of SII, it is obvious that SII is the text envisaged:

"Eighteen years before P'ilon translated this book, the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates, the abbot Grigor Jorap'or, the interpreter of the late lamented Nerseh prince of Iberia, son-in-law of the Kamsarakans, had translated the book of the *History of the Life of Saint Silvester*, bishop of Rome; and it existed on paper [*k'artez*]. We have reckoned it appropriate to copy it now with the same book, this parchment having been prepared by the scribe T'omas"³⁴.

Since it is SII which begins with a version of the *Life of Saint Silvester*, which was based on the earlier Armenian version and subjected to the same process of abbreviation and adaptation as the *Ecclesiastical History*³⁵, these notices indicate that P'ilon's work of revision and rewriting took place in 695/6, not that the first Armenian version of Socrates was made at that date. The internal problems in these two

³¹ Although Peeters, 317-9, discusses the circumstances of the 670s leading to the establishment of an Armenian era [back-dated to 551], he does not point out that it was not widely used for a long time. The earliest inscription with an Armenian date is that of 783 at T'alın; see Abrahamyan, 87. The earliest dated manuscript is the gospel of queen Mk'ē of 862. The first use of the Armenian era by an Armenian historian occurs in Lewond, §40 [233, probably to be corrected to 235, equivalent to 786 AD]. It was in common use by the early tenth century in Yovhannēs Draxanakertci.

³² See the article "Paper" in the *DOB*. A fragment of paper with a Greek text has been dated earlier; see Irigoin in *ST*. [I am grateful to Mr N. Wilson for this reference.] In early Armenian texts *k'artez* refers to "document" or "charter" rather than to paper as such; see MX, I 21, II 10.

³³ See the discussion of the characteristics of SII below, 12-26.

³⁴ For this Nerseh see further below, 37. The Chalcedonian background of Nerseh, prince of Iberia, is discussed in Peeters, "La version arménienne."

³⁵ The two Armenian versions of the *Life of Saint Silvester* appear together in the only printed edition [by Movsēsēan], SI above, SII below. The changes made in the secondary Armenian version will form a separate study by the present author once the critical edition of the Greek text with the original Armenian version (now in preparation in The Netherlands) has been published.

colophons suggest that they are not contemporary with P'ilon, but are later statements based on information found in the exemplars from which the surviving manuscripts were copied³⁶.

We are thus left with no direct information about the translator of SI or the date at which that rendering was made. Is it mentioned, or used, in Armenian texts before the end of the seventh century? The only work that claims to predate the work of Grigor and P'ilon, and which shows clear evidence of the impact of the *Ecclesiastical History*, is the *History of Armenia* by Movsēs Xorenac'i. The date of this book is notoriously controversial³⁷. Movsēs was clearly familiar with the full Armenian version of Socrates, SI, and there are parallels with readings of SII. If his *History of Armenia* was composed before the revision known as SII, these parallels might be explained as reminiscences of Movsēs introduced by the reviser. But since Movsēs also used the Armenian *Life of Silvester*, made in 677/8, it would seem more plausible that he was familiar with both versions of the *Ecclesiastical History*, and thus composed his work after 695/6 — a conclusion to which many other considerations point³⁸. Certainly some later writers knew of both versions of Socrates, though whether these circulated in tandem or separately is not clear. No surviving manuscript contains both versions.

Any dating of SI must rely on internal evidence. But first a brief word on styles of translation may be in order.

The earliest Armenian translations of Greek texts are marked by a careful appreciation of the original. Its nuances are thoughtfully rendered with all the subtleties at the command of classical Armenian. On the other hand, within a few generations of the work of the first translators who were the immediate pupils and colleagues of Maštoc', inventor of the script, a new style developed. It is associated with the translation of technical works, the textbooks of the schools of late antiquity in subjects like philosophy, rhetoric and grammar. This style is known as "Philhellene" for its literal approach to the texts³⁹. Rather than conveying the essential meaning of a sentence in a natural Armenian idiom, these

³⁶ This information was clearly not restricted to the copies of SII, since the colophon describing the revision of SI is found in the oldest surviving MS of that original translation.

³⁷ See above at n. 15. The borrowings from Socrates are discussed in the *Introduction* to the English translation by Thomson.

³⁸ See the conclusion to the *Introduction* of Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i*.

³⁹ For an introduction to the extensive bibliography on this subject see Mercier, "L'école hellénistique," and Terian, "The Hellenizing School."

translators looked to the individual words. The phrases were rendered in a more or less slavish fashion; individual compound words were broken down into their component parts and reworked with Armenian equivalents for each root. In this way a large vocabulary developed based on calques of the Greek expressions. A similar concern for literalness may also be noted in contemporary translations from Greek into Syriac⁴⁰.

What sparked this loss of confidence and move away from idiomatic Armenian is never explicitly mentioned; and the vast majority of such works are undated and anonymous. The degree of literalness varied, and the style was carried over to translations of non-technical writings as well, such as theology. Much scholarly effort has been put into classifying these "philhellene" translations on the basis of shared features. But although a given translation may be reasonably assigned to a certain degree of literalness, there is no necessary correlation between that and an earlier or later date. There is no agreement even on the date when such a style began, though a point late in the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century is commonly accepted.

It is to this pattern of translation that both the *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Life of Saint Silvester* belong. They are characterised by a word-for-word approach where the order of the original is observed, and by a vocabulary with many neologisms based on Greek. At what point between the early sixth and late seventh century the first Armenian translation of Socrates was made, however, is a question impossible to resolve without further information⁴¹.

THE SECOND, "SHORTER" RENDERING: A REWORKING

SII is a reworking of the earlier translation, not a fresh attempt to render the original Greek. The most obvious feature that springs to the eye on an initial reading is that the text is often incoherent both in grammar and in sense. The problems are not all due to faulty recopying by ignorant scribes. Rather, the reviser did not rewrite his original in any careful manner. He seems to have abbreviated the text before him without bothering to check again what he had put down. He did not read over his précis and ensure that it made sense on its own terms. Consequently the meaning of a passage can sometimes only be grasped by reference to

⁴⁰ See Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique."

⁴¹ See the discussion by M. Širinjan in Hansen's edition of the Greek, xxv-xxxi.

SI. The second most obvious characteristic, emphasized by the printing of the revised version below the text of the original in the only published edition, is that it is much shorter.

Errors by the Redactor of SII and/or Later Scribes

Mistakes and confusions in the text of SII fall into several different categories. Not all differences between the two versions are necessarily due to errors or changes in SII. On occasion scribal errors may have entered the manuscript tradition of the original translation, so that a more correct reading is now found in the revised version. Such agreements of SII with the Greek text are not to be taken as evidence that the reviser checked his work against a Greek manuscript. Disregarding deliberate changes in SII which will be discussed in detail below, we may here distinguish different categories of mistakes in its text.

1. The copying of errors already present in SI. Examples include confusion over names. "Chalcedon," for example, appears in both texts for the less well known "Chalcis" [597], or "Syria" for "Isauria" [495]⁴².
2. Errors in the transmission caused by the misreading of letters easily confused in Armenian script. For example, *t* and *l*, which are used to designate the numbers 5 and 7, are often interchanged. Dates, therefore, as well as the spelling of proper names, may well be copied wrongly, but not deliberately so.

A good example of the misreading of Armenian script occurs in the account of Mani. Socrates [I, 22] says that he went to the land of Babylon and dwelt "among the Persians." SI correctly translates this as *ěnd Parskaw'n*. In the revised text this becomes *ěnd parspawk'n*, "under the walls," i.e. of Babylon. The change may be attributed to a misreading of the Armenian script and not to the reviser's deliberate choice.

3. Errors by lack of attention, such as the repeating of a name from a previous line in the wrong context.
4. Similar slips of the eye or the pen may also occur in revisions to the text. Misrenderings, or changes of sense, can be introduced by poorly phrased abbreviation. When a lengthy passage has been cut down to a few sentences, the identity of the persons in the narrative may become confused. In I, 3, for example, we read that Licinius was fearful of Constantine and, influenced by his wife, the latter's sister, he ordered a

⁴² References are to the page numbers of the printed text, which are reproduced in bold in the translation below.

halt to the persecution of Christians. The next sentence begins: "He released those in bonds and exile, and restored their confiscated possessions." But in the original that referred to Constantine, not Licinius. The reviser has completely changed the meaning of the text by omitting the intervening material.

5. Errors due to the ignorance of the redactor. This is particularly noticeable in the confusion of persons with the same, or a similar, name. There are several persons named Eusebius, for example. Since the most famous in Armenia was the historian Eusebius Pamphilus of Caesarea, the bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia may be confused with him. Likewise, Diodore (of Tarsus) becomes Theodore (of Mopsuestia) [495], and "Gregory" is confused with "George" [126].

It is also worth noting that there are occasional additions in SI to the Greek. These may be taken over by SII, as on p. 518 where Egyptian monks are described as "God-loving men."

Omissions and Abbreviations

Once SII is compared with SI or the Greek text [henceforth "Soc"], it is obvious that the former is very significantly shorter than the original. In length it is little more than half of the first translation, some 37,000 words compared to 70,000. This condensation has been effected both by the omission of whole chapters or paragraphs and by the abbreviation of the narrative, that is, by rewriting in the form of a *précis*. The shortening has not been carried through evenly. The revised form of Book II, for example, is less than a quarter the length of SI; whereas Book IV, which contains significant additions, is almost the same length as the original.

The reason for omitting whole sections of the History is never stated in the text, though the colophon mentioned above describes quite accurately the general characteristics: "partially culled from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates, omitting the personal remarks and the letters of other persons and the speeches." The redactor's additions will be analysed below, but one may note in advance that an edifying tone is apparent throughout and a consistent vagueness of detail pervades his work. Many of the documents quoted by Socrates and the lists of signatures, which are such a valuable feature of his work, have been omitted. The more detailed theological expositions are often passed over, though the redactor of SII does have his own agenda leading to elaborations on a few theological themes. Nonetheless, in the Greek and the original Armenian version there are many passages which (to this later observer)

might seem to have had Armenian interest. The first Book, for example, is devoted to affairs in the empire from Constantine's conversion down to his death, that is from July of 306 when he was proclaimed emperor in Britain down to 337. Yet all the material of chapters 5 to 10 is omitted: the long discussion of the origins of the Arian controversy, the efforts of Constantine to calm it, the council of Nicaea and the condemnation of Arius, the emperor's letters to various church officials concerning the faith and the celebration of Easter. It is surprising, given the importance of Constantine in Armenian tradition and continuing Armenian emphasis on the council of Nicaea as the touchstone of orthodoxy, that the reviser should fail to include a detailed description of such events.

It is also noteworthy that SII frequently omits specific details, such as the names of persons or places, in favour of a vague "a certain X or Y." On p. 156, for example, we are informed that "a certain soldier" rebelled against the emperor of the west." Several pages later his name, Magnentius, is given. Ischyras, who had assumed the role of a priest without ordination, is merely called "someone" [89]; and the pagan temple at Myra is stated to be "somewhere" [252]. Such omission of specific names was a rhetorical convention in the late antique world, a technique much used in panegyrics⁴³. This vagueness fits in with the general purpose of the redactor of SII, who is not anxious to provide detailed information but rather to stress general characteristics of piety or morals. On occasion, however, the vagueness is already there in Socrates. At the beginning of Book III he refers to the murder of Constantine's son, Dalmatius, by the soldiers without giving further details. SII thus merely says he was killed by his soldiers "for some reason." Similarly, the reviser will often omit mention of the sources which Socrates quoted by name, especially the historian Rufinus.

Without a parallel translation of the Greek text it would be impossible to indicate all the nuances which have been lost by the abbreviator. A general idea of the major omissions may be gained by noting the chapters which have been omitted in their entirety. Also omitted are passages in which Socrates addresses the reader. These sections are all found in the original Armenian version, SI (except as specified). One should also note that since the revised version was made from the existing Armenian text, SII does not contain material from chapters omitted in SI, e.g. VII 38.

⁴³ Cf. the deliberate lack of precision in late Greek texts of a rhetorical nature; see Cameron and Hall, 32-3.

Chapters omitted in SII:

- Book I: Preface: Socrates describes his purpose in writing the History.
 ch. 5-10: origin of the Arian heresy, its development, the council of Nicaea and condemnation of Arius.
 18: personal remarks at the end by Socrates.
 32, 34: details of machinations against Athanasius.
 36: the heresy and deposition of Marcellus of Ancyra.
- Book II: Preface: Socrates gives his sources and reasons for revising the first two books, addressing his patron Theodore.
 9: concerning Eusebius of Emesa.
 14, 15: appointment of an Arian bishop for Alexandria.
 19: the creed sent to western bishops by those of the east.
 21: comments by Socrates refuting opponents of Eusebius Pamphilus. [Here the version in SI omits the quotations from Eusebius's book against Marcellus.]
 31: concerning Hosius of Cordova.
 39, 40: the council of Seleucia, and Acacius and his party there.
 45: the heresy of Macedonius.
 46: concerning the Apollinarians.
- Book III: 5-6: Lucifer goes to Antioch
 7: a council in Alexandria.
 8: extracts from Athanasius's *Apology for his Flight*.
 9: schism in Antioch.
 10: concerning Hilary of Poitiers.
- Book IV: 10: a son is born to Valentinian I.
- Book V: Preface: personal remarks by Socrates.
 1: Goths attack Constantinople.
- Book VI: Preface: the address by Socrates to his patron has been repositioned to the very end as a colophon, and rewritten.
 13: the defence of Origen.
 19: Arsacius becomes bishop of Constantinople.
- Book VII: 10: Alaric sacks Rome.
 14. monks riot in Alexandria.
 38: Jews in Crete convert to Christianity [omitted in SI].
 39: fire in the church of the Novatians in Constantinople.
 48: the final address by Socrates to his patron Theodore, and the summary of the timespan covered by the *History*.

Such a stark list gives little idea of the ways in which some chapters have been summarised in a line or two. Major omissions within chapters

have been noted in the commentary. But for a more precise analysis of the abbreviations in SII, the reader will need to place the Greek text, the Armenian rendering in SI, and the following translation of SII side by side. In what follows I concentrate on the variety of additions to the text made by the redactor of SII. From these additions a clearer idea of his purpose, or at least attitude, may emerge than from the negative evidence of the omissions.

Additions in SII

The principal focus of the commentary to the translation below is on the additions to the original which characterize the text of SII. The important question whether all these changes, both the additions and the abbreviations, were made by the same redactor at the same time, or whether the text of SII as now known from the manuscripts and quotations in medieval Armenian writers is the result of more than one revision over the centuries, will be addressed later.

The additions to SI found in the text of SII as it has come down to us range from single epithets to lengthy descriptions. In general they are not additions of historical material, save for biographical details of some leading ecclesiastical figures, but rather expansions of a theological nature. They fall into three general categories, but these overlap and no rigid definitions are possible. The distinction between "long" and "short" is purely arbitrary, but provides a convenient way to highlight the main concerns of the redactor — or, at least, of the final reviser of the surviving text — in a general fashion.

- I. Long additions, elaborating on the biography of major figures or important issues of belief and practice.
- II Short additions of a general nature.
- III. Short additions referring to orthodoxy in credal or technical form.

I. The most obvious characteristic of SII is the breaking of the text into chapters, which bear no relation to the modern chapter divisions of Socrates's seven books in the Greek, and the addition of titles giving the gist of the content. As already noted, SII has prefaced his reworking of the *Ecclesiastical History* with a revised version of the *Life of Silvester*; the first version had been made only eighteen years earlier. Since the latter deals with the legends concerning Constantine's baptism, its position at the beginning is logical. The division of the combined work into 170

chapters (not including the colophon) is found in some manuscripts and is followed in the printed edition, but whether the titles are the work of the original redactor of SII remains unclear.

The major additions of new material affect the following parts of the *History*, marked according to the modern chapter divisions of the Greek text.

- Book I: 17: the church building and pious activity of Helen in Jerusalem.
- Book III: 4: the virtue and orthodoxy of Athanasius; his declaration of faith.
20: the distinction of two Cyrils, bishops of Jerusalem.
- Book IV: 20: further elaborations on the faith and virtues of Athanasius.
26: elaborations to the lives of Basil and Gregory Nazianzenus, their fighting against heresy, and their writings.
27: elaborations on the life and work of Gregory the Wonderworker.
- Book V: 6: the writings of Gregory Nazianzenus.
8: Gregory urges Theodosius I to convene the council of Constantinople; the council's creed in conformity with that of Nicaea; the division of Christendom into patriarchates.
24: the story of the "Youths of Ephesus."
- Book VI: 3-18: elaborations on the piety and work of John Chrysostom, promoter of orthodoxy.
- Book VII: 16: a miracle emphasizes the inefficacy of heretical baptism.
18-end: the piety of Theodosius II and his perpetual striving for peace.
25: the piety of Atticus, who attempted to bring heretics to orthodoxy through kindness.
32-34: the ignorance and blasphemy of Nestorius concerning the use of "Theotokos."
- End: the heresy of Eutyches and the council of Ephesus.

II. SII consistently adds short comments on a variety of topics which are difficult to classify exactly. Most of the additions within the text have a bearing on spiritual matters. They fall into a wide range of categories:

Divine Providence

- God's providence never abandons his creatures [50]⁴⁴.
 The Iberians were converted "according to providence" [61].
 Athanasius holds an evening service "so that the outcome of affairs might be arranged by God" [129].
 God's justice drew the emperor Julian to his death [265].
 Julian's death was the will of God [272].
 Jovian's death was premature; but God's judgments are inscrutable [291].
 Divine providence summoned Saint Basil to the Lord's work [363].
 Through God's providence Gregory was summoned to the episcopate of Nyssa [371]; as also the other Gregory to Nazianzus [496].
 By the providence of God John Chrysostom was elected bishop of Constantinople, despite the disunity of the "orthodox" [490].
 God's providence preserves from harm the senators who go as hostages to Gainas [508-9].
 God's providence arranged the defeat of the rebel John [630].

Inspiration of God or the Holy Spirit

- The Spirit caused the miracle of the temporary resurrection of Spiridon's daughter [35].
 Through the inspiration of the Spirit Athanasius ordained Frumentius [60].
 Athanasius was warned by God not to accept Arius, despite his acceptance "by all" [86].
 God indicated everything through the death of Arius [110].
 The holy Spirit indicates orthodoxy to the emperor Theodosius [429].
 John Chrysostom overflowed with abundance of words through the Spirit [497].

Vengeance from God

- The lynching of George in Alexandria was vengeance from God [232].

Visions

- Constantine's buildings in his new city, Constantinople, were arranged according to a vision [43].
 Helena's building of churches in Jerusalem was in accordance with a vision [47].
 The ascetic Macarius was reprimanded in a vision by his fellow [336].
 A vision of heavenly hosts terrified the troops of Gainas [511].

Prognostications fulfilled

- Bishop Alexander's prediction that Athanasius would be bishop [42].
 Antony's prophecy concerning Didymus the Blind [358].

Efficacy of the Sign of the Cross

- Eutychianos makes the sign of the cross and the prison gates open [38].
 Nunē makes the sign of the cross and the queen's son is healed [63].
 Silvanus makes the sign of the cross and the stuck ship moves [669].

⁴⁴ Here the references are to the page numbers of the printed text, which are reproduced in the translation below.

The piety of saintly persons

The purity and miracles of Amoun [331].

The ascetic practices and pious exercises of Basil and Gregory [361].

Peter's ascetic prowess [370].

The astonishing asceticism of John Chrysostom [495].

Martyrs

To these are attributed "a good confession" at the time of death: Cyril and his mother [269], and Acacius [563].

Relics

The relics of Peter and Paul are emphasized when Ammon went to visit their tomb in Rome [346].

Communion

Emphasized after baptism [353].

Communion allowed to those who sin after baptism, provided there is repentance [376].

Processions

The funeral procession for Constantine is elaborated with a quotation from Col. 3.16 [114].

The pomp of the return of John Chrysostom to his church in Constantinople is elaborated [549].

Ordination

It is often emphasized that members of the clergy were ordained unwillingly and forcibly: e.g. Basil as deacon, 362; Gregory Nazianzenus as bishop, 368; Gregory Thaumaturgus, 372; Moses as bishop, 395; John to the see of Constantinople, 492. Only Gregory of Nyssa was "not forced by men," though neither did he "rush to it himself," when summoned to his see, 371.

Patriarchates

Usually, but not consistently throughout, SII refers to the bishops of the following sees as "patriarch," in place of the "bishops" in SI and Soc: Alexandria: 59, 592, 673.

Constantinople: 122, 159, 473, 493, 503, 663, 673, "chief patriarch" at 643.

Rome: 673.

The ranking of the patriarchates and the territories of their jurisdiction are specified at 419-21: First is Rome, second is Constantinople, third is Alexandria, fourth is Antioch. Jerusalem [is next], then Caesarea, and last comes Ephesus.

Councils

The list of participants at the council of Constantinople in 381 is expanded at 414-5. In addition to the bishops of Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch, already in SI/Soc, SII adds Damasus of Rome, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, and Nersēs of Armenia.

The emperors' piety

Constantine: his holy life is contrasted with the "darkened mind" of Licinius [6]; his zeal for expanding Christianity is stressed [54-5]. His piety in honouring holy men is also emphasized [30, 35, 39].

Helen: her piety and firmness in the faith are emphasized [45].

Theodosius I: his right faith and numerous virtues are elaborated [448-9]; his modest and pious behaviour are stressed [484]; his death (not described) is said to have been "glorious" [565]

Theodosius II: He is described as pious and peace-loving [611]; a long list of his personal virtues is elaborated [618-25], where his deference to clerics and ascetics is noted. Of all the emperors who are mentioned in the *Ecclesiastical History* it is he who is held up by SII as the paragon of piety and right behaviour.

Constantius II receives no praise: He ended his life "not in orthodoxy," nor was his death pious [215].

Julian: His duplicity, idolatrous conduct and oppression of Christians are consistently underlined throughout Book III.

Battles

God's aid to emperors in overcoming their enemies is consistently stressed: Theodosius I had success against the barbarians and freed the country from the tyranny of the foreigners [404]. Likewise the emperor's army "was strengthened by power from above," and "it was the Lord who was fighting against the tyrant," a reminiscence of Joshua 23. 10 [481-2]. Also in biblical phrasing, after the defeat of Gainas all praised "the Provider of such visitation" [514]. The pious Theodosius II trusted not in the multitude of his troops, but in God who grants victory [606]. He put his trust in God like king David [as in Soc], and SII adds that Theodosius II "armed himself more especially with prayer than with iron" [627]. And victory was gained through the providence of God in accordance with the emperor's faith and prayers [630].

Demons

God's opponents in the spiritual world play a significant role according to SII. The demons are constantly struggling to pervert men from the path of piety. Their trickery is emphasized: e.g. in their influence over Licinius [7]. Their dangerous onslaughts can be warded off with God's help, as with Spiridon [33], or Constantine [50]. In particular they encourage divination and sorcery [50], and immoral practices [53]. Julian the Apostate was a "demon-worshipper," and from the demons he received worthy retribution in accordance with Christ's vengeance [272]. Ascetics are in constant battle with demons: e.g. Evagrius is described as "foremost in fighting demons" [337]. And heroes such as Basil and the Gregories can cast out demons by prayer, or a word of command [373].

Satan

Satan, the leader of the forces of evil, can provoke wars [55]; he creates schisms [77, 521], fuels jealousies [550], and brings men to the abyss of destruction [655]. His falsity encourages the deceit of heretics [158]. For

these activities he is called "the Evil One" [77, 158, 521], or "the Enemy" [444, 446].

Astrology

If the demons encourage idolatry and sorcery, the Arians can resort to astrology without prompting [435].

Biblical quotations added or enlarged

A significant number of references to, or quotations from, scripture have been added by SII, and its redactor also frequently expands a quotation already found in Soc. These are too many to list here, but they are marked in the *Index of Scriptural Quotations* at the end of the book.

Monastic vocabulary

The vocabulary of SII with regard to hermits and ascetic communities is worth noting, since the redactor does not consistently follow the Armenian of the first translation. The emphasis in the *Ecclesiastical History* is primarily on ascetic hermits living a solitary life; coenobitic monasticism receives less attention. It may be useful to note here the Armenian terms used in SII:

Ascetic: *čgnawor*, *ճգնաւոր*, 328 [as SI].

Solitary: *miaynakan*, *միայնական*, 35 [as SI], 393 [as SI].

miaynac'eal, *միայնացեալ*, 335 [as SI], 521 [as SI].

mianjn, *միանձն*, 332 [here SI has *միայնացեալ*].

mianjnakan, *միանձնական*, 361 [here SI has *միայնական*].

miaynakeac', *միայնակեաց*, lit. "living alone," 520 [where SI has *միայնացեալ*].

Hermit: *anapatakan*, *անապատական*, lit. "desert dweller," 68 [not in SI], 361, [where SI has *ճգնաւոր*] 370.

Hermitage: *menastan*, *մենաստան* [*miaynaran*, *միայնարան* in SI], 347, 521, or *miaynastan*, *միայնաստան* [*միայնարան* in SI], 516, 517.

Monks: The only occasion where a term for "monks" is used that does not imply solitaries occurs at 338. Here *miabanakan*, *միաբանական*, renders the *miaban varot*, *միաբան վարող*, of SI, which in turn renders the *μοναχός* of Soc. The term *vank'*, *վանք*, very common in Armenian for a coenobitic monastery, is not found in SII.

Religious life: Less precise is the expression *krawnaworeal*, *կրաւնաւորեալ*, "living a religious life," derived from the noun *krawnk'*, *կրաւնք*, as 335. It is not used in SI, but is found in SII at 332, 363, 364.

Religious houses: SII once introduces the term *krawnaworanoc'*, *կրաւնաւորանոց*, where the ending *-անոց* indicates a place where *կրաւնաւորք*, "religious" live [364]. This word is not found in earlier Armenian texts, but in later usage refers to a regular monastery. However, here SI reads *ճգնարան*, which is an accurate translation of the Greek *ἀσκητήρια*. Why SII here tones down his usual emphasis on ascetics is puzzling.

III. Additions dealing with "orthodoxy"

The most important theme in SII's additions regarding the orthodox faith is the emphasis on the definition of the council of Nicaea. Its most

forthright defender was Athanasius of Alexandria. According to SII Athanasius was “honoured by the holy council” and praised for his worthy life; he confessed “the right faith” [41]. On the other hand, Arius perverted the people, “not in accordance with the orthodox faith of the holy council of Nicaea” [105]. The “orthodox faith” is defined as that of the council of Nicaea and its canonical definition [121, 140, 142, 203, 287, 289]. And where SI/Soc read “the party of consubstantiality,” SII may render this as “the orthodox” e.g. 296, 307.

Credal statements

Although SII omits much of the theological argumentation found in SI/Soc, and occasionally modifies the technical expression “consubstantial” as “the right faith” [296], or “orthodox” [307], there are several significant additions regarding disputed matters of theology, varying from brief comments to extensive credal statements.

As might be expected, given the emphasis on Nicaea as the basic criterion of orthodoxy, Arian views against the consubstantiality of the three persons of the Trinity are an especial target. The emperor Constantius had been perverted to the Arian position, says SII, and he gives a brief resumé of their main theme: “The Arians said that the Son was created, not of the nature of the Father, but coming into being after some time; and the Father was greater than the Son” [184]. This statement is based on the fuller exposition of the creed which is attributed to Athanasius at the time of his return from exile under the emperor Julian [236-9]. That creed is an expansion of the standard Armenian creed, quoted by later Armenian sources, though its attribution to Athanasius himself is erroneous. Likewise the Arians, according to SII, “in their hymns opposing the holy Trinity said that one was less than the other in their blessings of Father and Son and holy Spirit” [524].

The emphasis on the Son being of the same nature, or “consubstantial,” with the Father is frequently stressed:

Saint Basil, addressing Valens when the latter’s son was dangerously ill, is quoted by SII as saying: “If you believe in the holy Trinity, in the consubstantial Trinity and one Divinity, your child will live.” But Valens did not accept faith in the consubstantial Trinity [366-7].

Gregory Thaumaturgus is credited with a vision of this theological mystery, which distinguishes the one divinity into Persons, and unites them according to nature [373].

SII adds that at the council of Constantinople in 381, "the one hundred and fifty fathers confessed the faith of Nicaea: one divinity and nature and power and essence of Father and Son and holy Spirit, distinguished in three Persons, totally equal and of the same honour in the glory of the nature of the divinity, separated according to Person and unified according to divinity" [417].

At the beginning of the reign of Theodosius II the bishop of Synada, Agapetus, decided for the orthodox faith in consubstantiality. He confessed the unity of the consubstantial Trinity, and SII adds: "distinguishing the individuality of the three hypostases" [570]⁴⁵.

The redactor of SII was interested in other theological questions in addition to the relationship of the Persons in the Trinity. At the end of his *Ecclesiastical History* Socrates discussed at length the views of Nestorius and the controversy over the use of the term *Theotokos*, "Mother of God." SII claims that this title was used by Athanasius and numerous other patristic fathers [653-4], and expands at some length the whole episode of Nestorius and the council of Ephesus held in 431.

Other additions also have a Christological association. Did Christ have a human soul? This question had been raised by Apollinarius. SII omits the discussion of Socrates at its rightful place, but adds a resumé elsewhere [260]. The topic does not recur in SII, but it figures in Armenian texts of the fifth and following centuries⁴⁶. The willing acceptance of all facets of the human condition by Christ is noted in the creed attributed to Athanasius [238]. The term "sufferings" in this regard does not express the full meaning of the Greek πάθη, because the English implies solely pain and harm. But more than the passion and death of Christ are intended, as the Armenian rendering, *anc'k'* properly brings out — namely "all that occurs [to a human person]." SII stresses the "willing" sufferings [443], an emphasis found in the earliest Armenian texts.

⁴⁵ The technical terms used here were standard by the end of the seventh century. "Essence," *ēut'iwn*, is used at Heb. 1.13 to render ὑπόστασις, but already in the *Teaching* this Armenian term is found only in the sense of "being, existence." "Hypostasis" is rendered by *zawrut'iwn*, which is ambiguous as its root meaning is "power." For "nature" *bnut'iwn* is standard from the earliest times. "Consubstantial" is rendered in SII by *hamagoy*. This is not found in the *Teaching*, but is a compound of the Philhellene school. Its root *goy* is used as early as Eznik for "being, existence," and the prefix *ham-* is found in the Bible to render the Greek prefixes *iso-* or *syn-*. The most thorough study of Armenian theological vocabulary in the context of credal statements is that of Gabriele Winkler, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*.

⁴⁶ For example, in the letter from Sahak to Acacius, *GT'*, 16-18 [= *GT'*, II, 52-5], and that of Sahak and Maštoc' to Proclus, 9-13 [= II, 41-8]. See Winkler, 413-7, for further references.

Of greater significance from the point of view of Armenian disagreement with imperial orthodoxy is the stress in SII on the *Trisagion*. It is first mentioned on p. 417 in the context of the council of Constantinople held in 381. In this addition SII refers to the angels, who in the *Trisagion* praise the divinity of the Father, Son and holy Spirit; here the reference appears to be the hymn based on Isaiah 6. 3. In the addition on p. 525, however, the reference is to the threefold hymn introduced into the liturgy by Proclus of Constantinople: "Holy [is] God, holy [and] strong, holy [and] immortal." To this was added by Peter the Fuller, the monophysite patriarch of Antioch, the phrase "who was crucified for us." The addition was condemned by imperial orthodoxy, but remained standard in Armenia⁴⁷. Since SII quotes this version of the *Trisagion*, the redactor's pro-Armenian, anti-Chalcedonian stance is apparent.

In addition to these positive statements concerning the faith, SII is also interested in heretics. The most obvious characteristic throughout the text is the association of two groups who attacked the consubstantial Trinity: the Arians who denied the equality of the Son, and the Macedonians who denied that of the Spirit, popularly called *Pneumatomachoi*, fighters against the Spirit [*hogemart* in Armenian]. Although Socrates does refer on occasion to the two groups together, SII frequently adds such epithets or even more extended attacks, implying both groups are partners in heresy: e.g. p. 184, 294, 298, 302, 350, 394. At the very end of the *Ecclesiastical History* SII adds a section on the heresy of Eutyches, that the "Word of God was in form like a man, and not truly God made man." This, says SII, was condemned at the council of Ephesus in 431. Although Eutyches is roundly condemned in all Armenian theological documents, this passage in SII is totally confused. Eutyches was not accused of heresy until 448; he was acquitted at the second council of Ephesus in 449, and finally condemned at the council of Chalcedon. But perhaps P'ilon in 695 (or a later redactor) would not wish to say anything good of Chalcedon, considered in Armenian documents of the later sixth century and beyond as confirming the Greeks in the heresy of Nestorius.

Use of first person

Finally, we may note that some of these various additions include a reference in the first person, as if the redactor has taken the place of Socrates.

⁴⁷ See Garsoïan, *Schisme*, 144, n. 38, for references to texts in the *GT'*.

The emperor Valens sent word to Egypt that the Arian bishop Lucius should hold all the churches, and "the people who did not agree with us should be afflicted with various torments" [326]. Here SII clearly wishes his addition to be considered a quotation from Valens's command to the eparch. And "for us" [266] regarding the sacrifices of the Jews is put into Julian's mouth.

In the description of various Egyptian ascetics, where Socrates bases his account on Evagrius, SII adds: "Sometimes one, sometimes another debated with us" [335]. Here Evagrius is envisaged.

Describing the disunity of the schismatics, SII adds: "Others who had been divided and disunited came and confessed our orthodox faith and church rites" [475]. Here the anti-Arian emphasis throughout the reworking of the Armenian text is strengthened by a personal comment, though it does not help us identify the redactor.

SI/Soc describe the miracle of a Jew who, being a paralytic, was cured on being baptised. SII adds: "We ourselves were eyewitnesses of this miracle which was apparent to all, who glorified God" [572]. Since the redactor, working in 695/6, could not have been present at an event which occurred before the *Ecclesiastical History* was composed, it is fair to assume that here he is adding a literary commonplace. A parallel in Armenian would be the claim of Agat'angelos to have been an eyewitness of the miracles that occurred at the conversion of king Trdat.

The same claim is made in the description of another miracle, save that this time the Jew being baptised was an imposter and the baptismal water flowed out of the font. The Jew had received baptism from others, whereby he had gained financial advantage. But SII claims that his previous baptism had been performed by Arians, which was therefore "incomplete." He adds: "I say that the evidence of the miracle was for me nothing other than evidence of the orthodox faith" [601]. Again the anti-Arian emphasis of the redactor is strengthened.

SII AND ARMENIAN TEXTS: SOURCES AND PARALLELS

In the course of his changes to the previous Armenian translation of the *Ecclesiastical History*, the redactor of the "shorter" version shows knowledge of various Armenian texts, either original compositions or translations already available. The extensive additions concerning various figures of the church, to which reference was made above [section I] indicate the influence of Armenian *Lives* of saints or martyrs; while

some of the shorter additions have parallels with earlier Armenian historical works. A brief review may be useful.

Sources acknowledged

- I 17 = p. 45ff. SII mentions the *History* concerning Helen and the finding of the Cross, i.e. the story of Judas Cyriacus, although few of the new details in the addition are in fact taken from that text.
- I 20 = p. 61ff. For his account of the conversion of Iberia SII refers to the “*History [of Rhip’simē]*,” that is, the *History* attributed to Agat’angelos. In fact, however, the borrowings are not from that text but are parallel to the additions to Agat’angelos found in the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac’i. The relationship between SII and this work — namely, which is indebted to which — will be considered below.
- I 22 = p. 73. In his account of Mani SII expands on the reference in Soc to the writings of Archelaus, although no Armenian version is known. For his description of Mani’s death SII adds a comment parallel to the description in Cyril of Jerusalem’s *Catecheses*, available in Armenian.
- III 4 = p. 234ff. SII introduces the “*Declaration of Faith*” attributed to Saint Athanasius, a creed with a long history in Armenia⁴⁸. On the other hand, no source is mentioned for the additions concerning the activities of Athanasius.
- III 19 = p. 264-5. Soc had mentioned Rufinus as a source for the tortures of Theodore. SII states that he was martyred and provides some details which could be found in the Armenian *Life*.
- III 20 = p. 269: In a long addition SII refers to the *Martyrdom of Cyril and his Mother*, from which he had taken information.
- IV 20 = p. 324ff. SII expands at some length on the virtues of Athanasius. Although he refers explicitly to several of his writings, SII does not give a source for the details of his life.
- Numerous works of Athanasius and other patristic writers are cited by title in SII; these are listed below⁴⁹.
- IV 23 = p. 332. SII notes that “pious men” wrote the lives of ascetics in Egypt. Evagrius is mentioned by Socrates. SII adds the references to

⁴⁸ See Winkler, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, for a detailed study of early Armenian creeds.

⁴⁹ See the Index of Patristic Texts.

- the *Life of Antony* by Athanasius and to the *Life of Paul*, which he wrongly attributes to the same father.
- IV 26-27 = p. 358ff. There are extensive additions in SII regarding Basil of Caesarea, Gregory Nazianzenus and Gregory Thaumaturgus. The homilies of Gregory "the Theologian" himself are mentioned as sources, and also the "histories," that is, their *Lives*.
- V 6-8 = p. 408ff. Further additions concerning Gregory Nazianzenus appear without any source cited.
- V 24 = p. 476ff. SII adds an account of the Youths of Ephesus, which he notes has been derived from "their own Histories."
- VI 2-18 = p. 491ff. No source is quoted by SII for his extensive additions concerning John Chrysostom, though some parallels with the Armenian *Life* may be found.
- VII 8 = p. 580ff. SII adds details of the activity of Marutha in Persia. He refers to no source, and not all the information accords with the Armenian *Life*.
- VII 21 = p. 615ff. SII quotes no source for the activity of Acacius in Persia, though an Armenian *Life* is known.

Unacknowledged parallels

In addition to the references by the redactor of SII to sources known in Armenian, there are also unacknowledged reminiscences of Armenian works in his additions. The following examples indicate that SII was familiar with the major works of earlier Armenian historiography.

Koriwn:

- IV 26 = p. 361. The ascetic practices of Basil and Gregory are described in parallel terms to those of the disciples of Maštoc'.
- VII 22 = p. 623. SII changes the term used in SI to reflect the ascetic garment of Maštoc'.

Agat'angelos:

- V 16 = p. 441. The gods of the heathens are described in terms common to the *Teaching of Saint Gregory*, part of the *History of Agat'angelos*.
- V 18 = p. 447. The soldier Theodosius escapes like Rhip'simē.
- VII 23 = p. 630. The addition concerning the opening of the gates of the city is reminiscent of an episode also involving an army entering a city.

Buzandaran:

VII 22 = p. 621. In the time of Theodosius II there was no begging, as reported of the legislation of the Armenian patriarch Nersēs.

Etišē:

I 3 = p. 7. Licinius is described in terms reminiscent of the chief-magus.

II 38 = p. 194. Macedonius died a painful death, as did Vasak.

III 1 = p. 221. SII changes the term used in SI for Julian.

VI 5 = p. 502. Those nobles opposing John Chrysostom are called “unbridled,” as are the Persians.

Łazar Parp’ec’i:

I 16 = p. 43. Constantine founds his new capital after seeing a vision, as in Łazar.

Less certain is a possible reflection of Eznik. SII refers to Constantine as the “advocate of God” [8], which is reminiscent of Eznik’s description of Saint Paul [§239].

Movsēs Xorenac’i:

There are numerous parallels between the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates in its Armenian version and the *History of Armenia* by Movsēs. The mutual relationship of these two texts is a controversial matter, since the dating of the *History* by Movsēs is itself hotly debated. Here we are concerned with direct parallels between Movsēs and SII, but it may be helpful to list all the passages where Movsēs seems to know of Socrates, although he never mentions him by name.

M.X. II 83. For his account of Constantine’s leprosy, cure and baptism Movsēs is indebted to the Armenian version of the *Life of Silvester*. This was made only eighteen years before the redaction of SII. Movsēs also introduces king Trdat into the story⁵⁰.

II 86. Describing the conversion of Iberia, Movsēs relates this to the conversion of the Armenian king Trdat. He claims that the captive Christian woman — Nino in Georgian tradition, Nunē in Armenian, but unnamed in Socrates — was one of the companions of Rhip’simē who had been martyred by king Trdat. Again the parallels are not with SI, but with the later SII.

⁵⁰ This has an echo in the secondary Armenian version of the *Life of Silvester*, 722, where SII refers to “Armenian” doctors being unable to cure the emperor.

II 89-90. There are parallels between the accounts of the heresy of Arius in Socrates and in Movsēs, with some verbal agreements in SII. These are less close, however, than in the previous two passages just cited.

III 33. Describing the death of Valens at Adrianople, Movsēs says that he was "consumed by fire," a direct parallel to the addition in SII to SI/Soc, IV 38.

III 52. The fire and earthquake that occurred in Constantinople following the exile of John Chrysostom are taken from Socrates VI 18, 23, but are omitted in SII. John himself is described as a "fountain of the church" by both Movsēs, III 57, and Socrates, VI 14 [SII], 19 [SI]; but the epithet is so common that no firm conclusion can be drawn here.

III 62. Movsēs calls the see of Alexandria "the throne of the evangelist Mark," as SII, p. 41. SII also refers to the cemetery of the evangelist Mark, p. 164. But Socrates does not mention Mark at all.

III 67. In his eulogy of the departed Maštoc' Movsēs draws on *The Life of Silvester*, p. 699.

Although Socrates may have served as a source for several episodes of fourth-early fifth century history, there are few other close verbal parallels between Movsēs and either recension of the Armenian *Ecclesiastical History*. In III 33 Movsēs refers to the return of holy fathers who had been exiled for their orthodoxy "to the mines." This is a frequent addition in SII to notices about exile, but the expression is common in Armenian texts. Nor is the description of Nestorius's heresy and the council of Ephesus in Movsēs, III 61, close to that in Socrates.

It seems clear that Movsēs was familiar with the Armenian version of the *Life of Silvester*, but whether as a separate book or as the first part of the revised *Ecclesiastical History* in the recension known as SII, cannot be decided. That Movsēs was familiar with the *Ecclesiastical History* in the form SI is also probable, given the number of passages in his own *History of Armenia* for which no other source was available in Armenian. The most important piece of evidence for a mutual relationship between Movsēs and SII is the integration of the conversion of Iberia with that of Armenia. Here the verbal parallels are so definite that one cannot claim that a common unwritten tradition influenced both accounts independently. This emphasis on the priority of Armenia fits exactly with the trend apparent throughout Movsēs' work. The redactor of SII, on the other hand, seems surprisingly uninterested in incorporating Armenia into his additions.

In this passage it is quite possible that the references to Nunē by name and to Rhip'simē and Gregory the Parthian, which come at the very end,

are a later addition. In other words, the elaboration of the story of the conversion of Iberia is the work of SII, who in his usual fashion adds fanciful details emphasizing the piety of the captive woman and the miraculous nature of the Cross. When Movsēs incorporated this episode into his own book, he borrowed the secondary version, and made the link with Armenia himself. A later addition to SII would explain the Armenian emphasis, so untypical of SII, and avoid placing the composition of Movsēs' *History* in the very brief eighteen years between the translation of the *Life of Silvester* and the redaction of SII. It is reasonable to date his *History of Armenia* to the early eighth century on quite other grounds. If the traditional fifth century date for Movsēs is accepted, it then becomes difficult to see how he could have used the *Life of Silvester* as a source for several passages in his own work.

This uncertainty points to two problems. The first is whether the *History of Armenia* by Movsēs Xorenac'i is a fifth century composition, a later one, or a text which itself was subjected to revisions. That question is not our immediate concern, though one might note that Movsēs is not quoted directly until T'ovma Arcruni at the beginning of the tenth century. The second problem is more important for the present enquiry. Were all the changes to SI made at once, in 695/6? There seems to be no reason not to accept the explanation found in the colophon that: "P'ilon Tirakac'i translated at the first attempt this book partially culled from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates, omitting the personal remarks and the letters of other persons and the speeches." This is an accurate, if partial, description of the text known as SII. What it lacks is any reference to additions. These additions fall into two categories: more or less brief statements of a pious nature, and longer additions giving information about persons or theological opinions. In his own investigation Akinian concluded that the shorter comments were added by SII, and the more expansive passages are later additions. His prime reason for this assertion was that the *Lives* which provide some of the extra information were compositions or translations made after the end of the seventh century.

REFERENCES TO SOCRATES IN ARMENIAN TEXTS

Perhaps some light might be shed on the development of the text of this *Ecclesiastical History* in the secondary Armenian version by the quotations from it and the references to Socrates Scholasticus in later Armenian writers. The first reference is difficult to date, being an

interpolation into the *Anonymous Chronicle* of the seventh century, itself a later Armenian expansion of the *Chronicle* of Hippolytus⁵¹. In this passage the discussion of the debate over Nestorius is based on the version in SII⁵².

In the list of Armenian, Persian and Greek kings prefaced to the *History of Sebēos* in the oldest surviving manuscript of that work, but not part of it, there is a notice that "Socrates" gives an account of the persecution of Athanasius by the Arians⁵³. This has an echo in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, without the reference to Socrates⁵⁴. But the wording is too vague to tell whether the first or second Armenian recension of the *Ecclesiastical History* is intended.

Just after the year 1000 Step'annos of Taron, known as Asofik, lists his predecessors as historians. He adds that among the Greeks Eusebius and Socrates are like stars, while "among us" Movsēs is the equal of Eusebius. He also states that P'ilon Tirakac'i translated this *Ecclesiastical History* "in the days of the Catholicos Anastas"⁵⁵. Since the latter held office from 661/2 to 667/8, Step'annos could not have been following the colophon now found in the manuscripts. As noted above, this colophon is associated with the text of SI, although it clearly refers to the secondary, shorter version. Asofik's third direct reference to Socrates states that Julian died in Persia and was buried at Tarsus⁵⁶. None of this information indicates whether Asofik was familiar with the original Armenian version, SI, or with SII, or whether he knew that two versions of the text existed. Nor does the chronicler Samuēl of Ani, writing at the end of the twelfth century add anything to Asofik. He too mentions Eusebius and Socrates as the outstanding Greek historians before listing his own Armenian predecessors, but has no further direct reference to Socrates⁵⁷.

Early in the thirteenth century Mxit'ar Anec'i also mentions Eusebius and Socrates among Greek historians before listing native Armenian writers⁵⁸. Soon after 1265 Kirakos of Ganjak composed his *History*,

⁵¹ This is the *Ananun Žamanakagrut'iwn*; for the influence of Hippolytus see Mahé, "Quadrivium et cursus d'études," esp. 187.

⁵² *Chronicle*, 59; SII, 661. As the *Chronicle's* editor, Sargisean, points out, the addition may not be taken directly from SII but via a quotation in Abraham Mamikonēic'.

⁵³ *Sebēos*, ed. Abgaryan, 60.

⁵⁴ *Anon. Chronicle*, 53.

⁵⁵ Step'annos, *Patmut'iwn tiezerakan*, II 2.

⁵⁶ Step'annos, II 6.

⁵⁷ Samuēl Aneci', *Hawak'munk'*, 3.

⁵⁸ Mxit'ar Anec'i, *Matean ašxarhavēp Handisaranac'*, III [p. 73].

which, as had become traditional, begins with a notice concerning earlier writers. Here we are informed that “the very wise Socrates with powerful words beginning from Saint Silvester, patriarch of Rome, and Constantine the Great, brought [his account] down to the days of Theodosius the Less”⁵⁹. Clearly he had in mind the text of SII, where the *Life of Silvester* is integrated into the *Ecclesiastical History*. Kirakos later expands on what is found in SII, however, to include traditions found in fuller detail in the *Dašanc’ T’utt*⁶⁰. Another reference in Kirakos to Socrates, which deals with theological matters, is discussed below.

Only a few years later the chronicler Vardan Arewelc’i, who had been a fellow-pupil of Vanakan vardapet with Kirakos, notes that Socrates praises Jovian⁶¹. This is very likely to refer to the text of SII, which contains an extensive passage lamenting Jovian’s premature death⁶². Further evidence that Vardan knew SII comes from the Armenian version of the Syriac *Chronicle* of the patriarch Michael; this was translated by Vardan and Išoḫ. At the beginning, where sources are listed, the Armenian version notes that the Histories of Zosimus, Socrates and Theodoret all go down to the reign of Theodosius II. More significantly, it is later stated that “Socrates” bears witness that Constantine had leprosy, and that Silvester baptised him⁶³. This can only have come from SII. The Armenian has changed the Syriac reference to the *History of Silvester* to the historian Socrates. The first clear statement that two recensions of the *Ecclesiastical History* were known in Armenia is found in Vanakan vardapet, teacher of Kirakos and Vardan in the early thirteenth century⁶⁴. The fourteenth century chronicler Mxit’ar Ayrivanec’i is also aware of two separate recensions⁶⁵.

The historians do not have much to tell us about the text of the *Ecclesiastical History*. Not until the thirteenth century were they clearly familiar with the secondary Armenian redaction, SII. Writers interested in theology, however, are a more fruitful source.

The earliest direct witness refers to the addition, “Who was crucified for us,” in the *Trisagion*, which is a standard feature of Armenian usage

⁵⁹ Kirakos Ganjakec’i, *Patmut’iwn Hayoc’*, 5.

⁶⁰ Kirakos, 11, 12, 118.

⁶¹ Vardan Arewelc’i, *Hawak’umn Patmut’ean Hayoc’*, 44.

⁶² SII, 291, an addition to III 26 of Soc.

⁶³ *Žamanakagrut’iwn Teān Mik’ayēli*, 126.

⁶⁴ In his *Questions and Answers*, which remains unpublished; see the references to manuscripts in Širinyan, “Ricerche,” 158-9.

⁶⁵ Mxit’ar Ayrivanec’i, *Patmut’iwn*, §36 = p. 37: “Sokrat mec ew p’ok’r.”

in opposition to the practice of the imperial Greek church⁶⁶. This occurs in the *Homily* attributed to the Catholicos Sahak III. In §67 of this document Ignatius of Antioch is said to have established this hymn after a vision of the heavenly hosts, "as the Greek historian Socrates relates"⁶⁷. This is found in the original Greek text as well as SI. But Sahak includes the addition, which is only found in the adaptation, SII. If this *Homily* by Sahak predates the year 695/6, then the date of P'ilon's work does not accord with the colophon. Van Esbroeck believes that it was composed just prior to the council *In Trullo* in 692, when the Catholicos Sahak III had agreed to union with the Greeks in Constantinople in 690; others would attribute the *Homily* to a later Sahak⁶⁸. But, as noted above, the historian Step'annos Taronec'i [Asolik] places P'ilon in the days of the Catholicos Anastas, 661/2-667/8. If Sahak did compose this *Homily* in 691 and Asolik was unaware of the date for P'ilon as found in the colophon, this later notice cannot be correct.

The same emphasis on the expanded *Trisagion* is repeated in other letters found in the *Girk' T'ht'oc'*. The *Letter* of Gagik, king of Vaspu-rakan, to the emperor Romanos (early tenth century) refers to Socrates and claims that John Chrysostom authorised the *Trisagion* in opposition to the Arians, and that the addition "Who was crucified for us" is to be attributed to Ignatius⁶⁹. Likewise, in the *Response* of Step'annos Siwnec'i to the bishop of Antioch, Socrates is quoted as authority for John Chrysostom reading Origen and including this addition⁷⁰. This reference is somewhat misleading, because although Origen figures in this passage in SII, he is not there said to be the authority for the addition to the *Trisagion*. This second letter is not likely to be a genuine eighth century document⁷¹.

In a *Homily on the Lenten Fast* Xosrov quotes extensively from the text of the SII⁷². The author is likely to be the eighth century theologian known as "translator, *Թարգմանիչ*." In the tenth century Anania of Mokk'

⁶⁶ For this addition, introduced by Peter the Fuller, patriarch of Antioch 470-88, and known in Armenian as the *xač'ec'ar*, *խաչեցար*, see van Esbroeck, "Le discours," 342-4.

⁶⁷ The paragraph numbers are those of van Esbroeck's translation in "Le discours." For the Armenian text see *GT'*, 413-82 [not in *GT'*, II].

⁶⁸ Namely Sahak Mřut; see Bořarean, *Sahak vardapet (Mřut) Bac'ayaytut'iwn*. For this Sahak see Mahé, "L'église arménienne," 496.

⁶⁹ *GT'*, 298 [= II, 544]; cf. SII, p. 525.

⁷⁰ *GT'*, 330 [= II, 508].

⁷¹ Akinean, "P'ok'r Sokrat," 40, regards this letter as a tenth century forgery.

⁷² Quoted in Akinean, "P'ok'r Sokrat," 36; cf. SII, 462-5.

shows knowledge of SII in his discussion of Proclus, where he refers to “Socrates”⁷³.

It has already been noted that Kirakos was using the version in SII for his reference to the scope of Socrates’s work. Towards the end of his *History* Kirakos discusses in some detail the contemporary debate over the Procession of the Spirit within the Trinity: “Whether the Spirit [proceeds] from the Father alone or from the Father and the Son,” as the title to his chapter 50 explains. After quoting “Gregory the Illuminator,” i.e. the *Teaching*, §362 (not verbatim), Kirakos quotes from Athanasius, “which the historian Socrates repeats”⁷⁴. The passage in question is from the Creed attributed to Athanasius, found in SII only.

GENERAL CONCLUSION: THE PURPOSE OF THE REVISION

No doubt further allusions to, or quotations from, the two versions of Socrates’s *Ecclesiastical History* will be identified in Armenian texts in the future. Nonetheless, it does not seem very likely that it will be possible to trace in any detail the development of the text of the revised “shorter” version. To what extent the work of P’ilon Tirakec’i was expanded by later editors remains still a matter of conjecture. The purpose of his revision, however, as the final question in this Introduction, may be discerned from his personal addition at the end, where he adapted for his own purposes the address of Socrates himself to his sponsor, the “holy man of God, Theodore.”

Socrates explains at the end of his fifth book that he has dealt with the history of the church from the time of Constantine. He did not write in elaborate style with rhetorical elegance, nor did he follow the habit of earlier historians who might expand or curtail events. He had in mind the majority of readers who were anxious to know what happened, so his composition is (he hopes) clear though unadorned. This address to Theodore comes before Book VI, where he begins to deal with the history of his own time. Socrates defends himself from charges that he is not duly deferent to bishops and emperors. History demands faithfulness, so he records what he has himself seen or learned from those who were present. And where there are differences between witnesses, he has tested the truth with much effort.

⁷³ Akinean, “P’ok’r Sokrat,” 41, where he also notes that Pawlos Taronac’i (†1123) refers to Socrates and the *xað’ec’ar*.

⁷⁴ Kirakos Ganjakec’i, *Patmut’iwn*, 331; cf. SII, 236-9.

These comments are summarised in SII as follows. Although there exist full histories of the great persons on the political and ecclesiastical stages from the time of Constantine, a reminder in the present work is valuable nonetheless. The main purpose of this *History* is to apportion praise and blame, which will urge many to piety. This is an abbreviated account, based on eye-witnesses; the concordance of their accounts will guarantee the truth of what is reported⁷⁵.

P'ilon now turns to his sponsor, Nerseh Kamsarakan, taking up in greater detail the theme of piety⁷⁶. He prays that Nerseh may have zeal for the fear of God and not be led astray in opposition to righteousness. He should concentrate on righteousness like the pious Theodosius — i.e. Theodosius II, whose eulogies are expanded in SII at the end of the last Book of the *Ecclesiastical History*. Then he will be successful in his endeavours. Even battles are won by prayer. If Nerseh follows this model, the peace of Christ will dwell in him and in his country. So he should follow the paths of kings like those of this *History*, which he desired to be translated. By "translated" SII means the reworking of 695/6 which incorporated the *Life of Saint Silvester* into the earlier rendering of the *Ecclesiastical History*. The emphasis on piety and orthodoxy, and the eulogies of pious kings (especially Theodosius II), in contrast to impious ones such as Constantius and Julian, are indeed notable features of SII. Who then was Nerseh Kamsarakan, and what special circumstances might occasion P'ilon's undertaking at the end of the seventh century?

The noble line of the Kamsarakans features prominently in early Armenian history. They held two principdoms in central Armenia: Širak on the left bank of the Axurean, and Aršarunik' on the left bank of the Araxes just before its junction with the Axurean⁷⁷. These holdings are attested from the fourth century in the *Buzandaran*, but after the ninth century they passed to the royal line of the Bagratunis⁷⁸. A Nerseh, son of Kamsar, is mentioned by Movsēs Xorenac'i, III 29, as leading one of the sides in the civil war in the time of Aršak II. "Kamsar" is the historian's etymology for Kamsarakan. According to Movsēs' account at II 87, Kamsar lost part of the bone of his skull and was thereafter called "*kam* [small] — *sar* [head]." Another Nerseh Kamsarakan is named as one of the prisoners taken after the Armenian defeat at Avarayr in 451. Later,

⁷⁵ SII, as ch. 171, p. 687-8.

⁷⁶ SII, p. 689.

⁷⁷ See Hewsen, *The Geography*, 214, n. 277; Toumanoff, *Studies*, 206-7.

⁷⁸ Garsoïan, *EH*, 382; Ter-Ghevondyan, *Emirates*, 69-70.

after his release, he was familiar with the historian Łazar P'arpec'i, who in his youth stayed with that family⁷⁹. The Nerseh Kamsarakan mentioned in the colophon to SII was the successor to Ařot Bagratuni as "prince of Armenia"⁸⁰. He is described in the *Ařxarhac'oyc'* as "patrician of řirak and lord of the Arřarunik'"⁸¹. Finally, a Nerseh Kamsarakan is mentioned by Łewond as having been killed in 784 when fighting with the Arabs against the Huns and Khazars in the eastern Caucasus⁸².

The Nerseh addressed by P'ilon is to be distinguished from the Nerseh, "prince of the Iberians, related by marriage to the Kamsarakans," who commissioned the translation of the *Life of Silvester* in 678. The second Nerseh is the prince of the Georgians killed in 684 in a Khazar invasion after earlier success against the Arabs⁸³. Nerseh Kamsarakan, however, was appointed "prince of Armenia" in 689 by Justinian II on his invasion of Armenia. Until 691/2 he held this position, leaning to the Byzantine side in the Armenian vacillation between Byzantium and the Arabs. His successor as "prince of Armenia," Smbat Bagratuni, turned to the Arabs. When Justinian II returned to Constantinople in 690 he brought with him the Catholicos Sahak III, who submitted to union of the churches⁸⁴. But Armenian sources say no more about Nerseh Kamsarakan. His political role after Justinian's withdrawal and the appointment of the pro-Arab Smbat remains unknown.

On the assumption that the date of 695/6 in the colophon is correct, even though the colophon itself may well be a later composition and not contemporary with P'ilon himself, what might P'ilon's motivation be?

Grigor of Jorap'or, translator of the *Life of Silvester*, who in the colophon is called "interpreter" of Nerseh prince of Iberia, came from a pro-Armenian region of that country⁸⁵. Jorap'or is on the right hand bank of the river Kura north of lake Sevan in the border province of Gugark⁸⁶. This Grigor has been identified with the Grigor who as bishop of Arřarunik' attended the council of Manazkert in 726⁸⁷.

⁷⁹ Łazar P'arpec'i, *History and Letter*, 188. He is not mentioned in Eřiře's account of the war.

⁸⁰ For this title and a list of office holders see Ter Ghevondian, "Le Prince d'Arménie," and Laurent/Canard, 400-8. Ařot was *hřuřuř*, "prince," from 685 to 689.

⁸¹ Hewsen, *The Geography*, 50, 96 n. 31.

⁸² Łewond, §39.

⁸³ See Łewond, §4; Yovhannēs Drasxanakerte'i, *History*, XX 19.

⁸⁴ See Garitte, *Narratio*, 350-6.

⁸⁵ For the inhabitants of Jorap'or as pro-Armenian exactly at this period, rejecting the Chalcedonian Iberian tradition, see the *Narratio*, §89, and the comments of Garitte, p. 218.

⁸⁶ Hewsen *The Geography*, 137 n. 51, 200 n. 228.

⁸⁷ HAnjB, s.v. Grigor 38 and 49.

Aršarunik' is in central Armenia, on the left bank of the Araxes before the junction of the river Axurean. The latter Grigor was acquainted with Nerseh Kamsarakan. Step'annos Taronec'i informs us that: "Nerseh Kamsarakan was prince of Armenia for four years. In his days Grigoris the chorepiscopus of Aršarunik' was famous for his philosophical skill; he composed the interpretation of the readings at the request of Nerseh Kamsarakan"⁸⁸. The identification of the two Grigors is by no means certain, not least because the Grigor of the colophon is described as an abbot, *աբբայ*, not a bishop. However, an active life of fifty years (from the translation of the *Life of Silvester* made in 676 to participation in the council of Manazkert in 726) is not impossible. Be that as it may, the translation of the *Life of Silvester* was made into Armenian, not Georgian, and was known in Armenia.

Where P'ilon was living is not specified. It seemed tempting to some to emend "Tirakac'i," *Տիրակացի*, to "Širakac'i," *Շիրակացի*, i.e. "from Širak," which is close to Aršarunik'. In Armenian *Tirakac'i*, does not mean "Thracian," for Thrace is *T'rake*, *Թրակ*, and a person from Thrace is *T'rakac'i*⁸⁹. A place "Tirak" has not been identified. Whatever his origin, P'ilon is the only attested Armenian bearing this Greek name — which does not imply that he was in fact Greek, even if some Greeks were speakers of Armenian. Although he dedicated his work to Nerseh Kamsarakan, he does not invoke his name as patron. "Behold, your command, O priest of God, I have completed" is taken from the address by Socrates to his patron, and can hardly refer to a secular prince — even though Nerseh's pious interests are clear from his commissioning the "interpretation of the readings" from Grigoris. Furthermore, P'ilon's prayer for Nerseh includes success in battle.

Whatever the immediate motivation, P'ilon's work embraced two texts, both of which began with an explicit reference to Eusebius Pamphilus [of Caesarea] and the ten books of his *Ecclesiastical History*. P'ilon reworked these as a single book, aiming to give the gist of the information they contained with a particular slant, as expressed in his address to Nerseh, namely the evocation of piety and the model of a pious emperor. Nerseh, having recently served under the aegis of a Byzantine emperor, would have recognised the model. Theodosius II already enjoyed a

⁸⁸ Step'annos Taronec'i, II 2. This information is repeated by Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i, 66, under the year 690.

⁸⁹ See the many references to Thrace in the *History* of Sebēos. By the late seventh century significant numbers of Armenians had been installed in Thrace as military garrisons, as Sebēos indicates. For the emendation to *Širakac'i* see HAnjB, s.v. P'ilon.

saintly reputation in Armenia. Łazar and Elišē evoke his memory in reverent tones and lament his demise just when the Armenians had requested help in 450 against Persia at the beginning of their rebellion for religious liberty⁹⁰. In retrospect at the end of the seventh century, the reign of Theodosius II was the last period of ecclesiastical union and harmony between Constantinople and Armenia. In fact the split between the churches, with the pivotal role of the council of Chalcedon in 451, which was held under Marcian, the successor to Theodosius II, was a long drawn-out affair⁹¹. But well before the council in Trullo of 692 the Greeks and Armenians had taken irreconcilable stands. The effort of Justinian II in 690 to bring about union was the last occasion when imperial pressure was brought to bear directly on the Armenians, and it was as unsuccessful as previous attempts. Theodosius II was thus a symbol of those supposedly harmonious years from the time when Maštoc' invented the Armenian script⁹², through his death and that of the patriarch Sahak, down to the heroic stand of Vardan Mamikonean for Armenian *awrenk'*, *արքայր*, their patrimonial traditions⁹³, in the same year as the council of Chalcedon.

P'ilon was able to emphasize the centrality of Nicaea as the standard of orthodoxy and the role of pious emperors in enforcing it, without direct reference to the disputed definition of Chalcedon. This did not prevent him from introducing points of theology where by 696 Armenians and Greeks differed, such as the addition to the *Trisagion*. But the evocation of such great ecclesiastical figures as Athanasius, the Gregories, and John Chrysostom provided common ground with Byzantium. The question remains why precisely in 695/6 P'ilon would have offered this reworking of the history of the church from Constantine to Theodosius II with a wish for future success to Nersēh Kamsarakan, who was no longer in a commanding position in Armenia.

The "shorter" Socrates, SII, may be seen as a statement of how far the Armenians were prepared to respect the Greek theological tradition at the end of the seventh century. It reflects their admiration for the common heritage of the great fathers of the patristic era, adherence to the first three ecumenical councils, and deference to those pious emperors who upheld Nicene orthodoxy. Irenic in tone, it suppressed the debate over Chalcedon, at the same time roundly condemning Nestorius and

⁹⁰ See Łazar, 74, and the more elaborate account in Elišē, 72-3.

⁹¹ See the detailed account in Garsoĭan, *Schisme*.

⁹² *M.X.*, III 54.

⁹³ For this theme see the Introduction to Thomson, *History of Vardan*.

Eutyches. Nonetheless, it emphatically accepts later Armenian theological positions, notably the famous addition to the *Trisagion*. There is no doubt that additions were made to SII over succeeding centuries. But the work of P'ilon himself is to be set in the context of the aggressive self-definition of Armenians in the Muslim period following the last (and unsuccessful) attempt at reunion with Constantinople. This rewriting of church history was perhaps not as influential as the codification of canon-law under Yovhannēs Awjnec'i, but it belongs to that generation when the independent Armenian church gained self-confidence and defined clearly her own traditions⁹⁴.

⁹⁴ This process has been eloquently described by Mahé in his essay "Confession religieuse et identité nationale," although he does not mention the Armenian reworking of Socrates in this connection. It still seems to me most likely that the disputed *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i also belongs to this period, when the definitive past of the Armenian church was worked out in terms of apostolic origin; see Thomson, Introduction to *Moses Khorenats'i*, 60-61.

[BOOK I]

[1]

CHAPTER 14¹

Constantine, after ruling alone over all the kings, makes his brother-in-law Licinius emperor; who, after persecuting the Christians, opposed Constantine, was captured and killed

[I, 1]² When Eusebius Pamphilus set down in ten books the history of the church, he stopped at the times of Constantine the Great and the persecutions of the Christians which occurred under Diocletian. He also wrote the *Life of Constantine* in elevated style, which we shall here briefly recall³.

[I, 2]⁴ [2] When Diocletian and Maximianos had stepped aside from their rule *unwillingly*⁵, having been conquered by Constantine because of their impiety, [5] he also slaughtered all the impious kings, and through the sign of Christ's cross was revealed as victorious throughout the whole world in the seventh year of the reign of Constantine⁶. When he had gained victory over all the kings, he made his brother-in-law⁷ Licinius emperor.

[6] *Now the latter honoured his friends to this extent; he did not have pious thoughts but demonic ones in secret for fear of Constantine. However, his wife, Constantine's sister, ordered a halt to the persecutions of the Christians, for she was pious and a fearer of God.* He [Constantine] released those who were in bonds and in exile, and restored their confiscated possessions⁸. He restored the churches with great splendour and

¹ Chapter 14: Since the Armenian Socrates begins with the *Life of Silvester*, the numbering of chapters in SII does not start at 1. The division of the double work into 170 chapters is found only in the adaptation, and then not in all MSS. SI follows the division of the Greek text into seven books. Within those books there are no chapter headings in Soc/SI.

² The chapters of the Greek and SI are given [in parentheses] for ease of reference. SII omits Socrates's description in the Preface of his purpose in writing this History; for such omissions see the Introduction, 14-17.

³ No Armenian version of the *Life of Constantine* is attested. Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* was translated into Armenian in the fifth century from the Syriac version, and his *Chronicle* somewhat later directly from the Greek.

⁴ I, 2: In SI/Soc: "Constantine's victory at the Milvian Bridge."

⁵ Unwillingly: "by mutual consent" in SI/Soc. Their abdication occurred in May 305.

⁶ Cf. Aa §868-9 for Constantine destroying these impious kings and his universal victory through the Cross.

⁷ Brother-in-law: *քեսայր*, "sister's husband," as in MX, II, 88, for the *քեսայ* of SI. Licinius became emperor in November 308.

⁸ Confiscated: *անհէլոցի*, which has no grammatical referent.

care with ministers in Christ Jesus. In these [times] Diocletian died in Dalmatia⁹.

[I, 3]¹⁰ Constantine took over his possessions and rule, and in everything carried out what was pleasing to Christ. He prevented the cults of idols and renewed the churches with ministers and notable vessels. He progressed in a holy life of piety, visibly and invisibly, and was always thoughtful of the fear of our God. But Licinius hated the Christians, though openly he was unable to persecute [them] because of the emperor¹¹ Constantine. And because he did not have that ability, he tried to harm the Christians in secret. But this was not hidden from the emperor. [7] He wrote and sent him a message not to plan evil for the Christians, but good. He, however, deceitfully made pretences of love and peace, and he swore an oath. But he did not cease to transgress the oath through the trickery of the demons¹². He commanded the Christians not to approach the heathens lest they learn and increase Christianity. For he was darkened in mind and estranged from God¹³, and plunged into desire for possessions and the abyss of passion.

[I, 4]¹⁴ [8] When the emperor Constantine discovered this, he was angered as the advocate of God¹⁵, and declared war on him. Licinius was captured by the emperor in the war. Treating him benevolently, he did not put him to death, but ordered him to live in Thessalonica in tranquillity.

So he was quiet for a while, but later gathered barbarians as his colleagues. He plotted war and the death of the emperor Constantine in secret. When Constantine realised this, he sent an army against him. Seizing him, they put him to death. In this way the wicked one was removed. [9] Constantine, reigning alone, was titled "autocrat,"¹⁶ and continuously reflected on the welfare of the Christians. He established the royal [capital] in Byzantium with wonderful constructions¹⁷ and

⁹ In 316.

¹⁰ I, 3: In SI/Soc: Persecution by Licinius.

¹¹ Emperor: *ἡ ἐπισημοσύνη*, a calque on the Greek "auto-crator."

¹² The role of demons is frequently stressed in the additions in SII; see the Introduction, p. 21.

¹³ Darkened in mind and estranged from God: see Eph. 4. 18. Cf also Eṭišē, 148, of the Persian chief-magus.

¹⁴ I, 4: In SI/Soc: "War between Constantine and Licinius." For Constantine's campaigns against Licinius cf. Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, II, 6-10, and commentary in Cameron/Hall.

¹⁵ Advocate: *ὑποστηρικτής*, "defender." It is not a biblical expression, but Eznik, §239, describes the Apostle [Paul] as "advocate of his Lord."

¹⁶ Autocrat: as n. 11 above.

¹⁷ Constructions: *μαρτυρημάτων*, which could also mean "magnificence." Similar phrases are used frequently in SII of churches and other buildings.

*called it after his own name "the city of Constantine." And there was peace over the whole land of the Christians*¹⁸.
[omit I, 5-10]¹⁹

[30]

CHAPTER 15

The history of Paphnutius, what he did, and of the deacons, and of Spiridon and his miracles

[I, 11]²⁰ It is appropriate to make mention of Paphnutius and Spiridon. Let us here relate concerning these saints [as promised] above. Paphnutius, a man of God, was bishop of one of the cities²¹, a confessor also famous for miracles, who had been wounded by the persecutors in [one] eye. The pious Constantine held him in honour, and frequently summoned him to him and learned from him his good deeds. When he came, he greeted him, and the emperor used to kiss the wounded eye, *and with respect would receive the saint of God*²².

Now let me mention in his regard the proposal for the perfection of the church and regulation of priests. [31] *A council of bishops* decided to teach a new rule. It is necessary, they said, that those from the married state who are summoned to the priesthood and to the diaconate should not keep their wives, *lest they be condemned. But on this matter there*

¹⁸ For the foundation of Constantinople in Socrates see I, 16. The new city was inaugurated in 330. Note that MX, II, 88, also passes directly from the death of Licinius to the building of CP; cf. also the description of Constantinople in Łazar, 4, after Constantine's victory over the Goths, when he saw the vision of the Cross and its inscription.

¹⁹ In SI/Soc: I, 5: "Origin of the Arian controversy; 6: Bishop Alexander's letter to all bishops concerning Arius, Eusebius of Nicomedia favours the Arians, origin of the Meletian schism; 7: Constantine sends Hosius of Cordova to Alexandria, and writes to Alexander and Arius; 8: the council of Nicaea; 9: the condemnation of Arius; 10: Acesius, bishop of the Novatians, speaks with Constantine." Although SII is not interested in technical discussions of Christology or in quoting long documents, it is particularly remarkable that it omits any description of Nicaea and its creed, given the emphasis in Armenian texts on Nicaea as the foundation of orthodoxy. MX, II, 89, depends on SI, esp. Book I, 6 and 8, for his description of Arianism; for Movsēs Xorenac'i and SII see the Introduction, 29-31.

²⁰ I, 11: In SI/Soc: "Paphnutius defends the lawfulness of marital intercourse for the clergy."

²¹ One of the cities: SII omits "of upper Thebes." The deliberate omission of detail is a characteristic of its general vagueness; see the Introduction, 15.

²² With respect: երկխղիւ. For the theme in SII of emperors treating holy men with respect see the Introduction, 21.

were doubts amongst them. Paphnutius, rising up, stood in the midst of the bishops and said: "Do not place a heavy yoke on the clergy, *which the Apostle did not impose*, who called marriage honourable and its bed pure²³, lest they harm the church [by] an excess of stringency. For you cannot bring everyone to a passionless state of austerity. *But let them be occupied for a while with clerical duties, [32] then return again to the same [wife], lest they be tempted by Satan and not keep the modesty of marriage. For the sake of chastity²⁴ they were united in marriage.* But he who has no vice in himself before marriage, and has taken a vow to God to preserve virginity, should he come to the priesthood or diaconate, he should no longer [be allowed to] enter into marriage according to the early tradition of the church. *And if condemned, they should be excommunicated for not observing their pact.*" The council of bishops agreed with Paphnutius on this, and ceased their inquiry.

[I, 12]²⁵ Spiridon was a shepherd of flocks, pious and God-fearing. Once thieves attacked his sheep [33] to carry them off. But God, who protected his shepherd *from the onslaught of demons²⁶*, also [protected] the sheep *from the visible brigands*. That same night their hands were invisibly tied behind them. When he realised what had happened, he prayed to God for them until morning, and loosed their invisible bonds [tied] by God. Falling before him, they requested forgiveness. He advised them to live not by brigandage but by just labours, gave them a ram, and dismissed them.

He was called to the priesthood with many eulogies [34] and miracles, and tended his *rational sheep²⁷*. Again [he was called] to the grace of episcopacy, and was famous in every respect in his way of life and miracles²⁸.

He had a daughter left an orphan by her mother, who in virginity *and righteousness* devoted herself to pious practices with her father. Seeing this, a certain *friend* placed in safekeeping [with her] valuable ornaments, and went on a distant journey. The virgin carefully hid these in the ground. But after not many years the virgin died *without leaving a record of the deposit of the ornaments*. When the owner of the ornaments returned, he

²³ Heb. 13. 4.

²⁴ Chastity: *անխառնութիւն*, which has the sense both of refraining from intercourse and of incontinence; cf. I Cor. 7, 5, on which this sentence is based.

²⁵ I, 12: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Spyridon."

²⁶ Demons: see the Introduction, 21.

²⁷ Rational: *բանաւոր*, a commonplace for the spiritual flock; cf. Lampe, s.v. λογικός. MX, III, 68, applies it to the church of Armenia as a whole.

²⁸ This section is from the beginning of the chapter in SI/Soc.

found neither the virgin nor his deposit, and upbraided the virgin's father with threats. This was a great trial for the bishop, the virgin's father. So the holy bishop arose and went to the tomb of the virgin, his daughter, and prayed to God. *He requested the resurrection of his daughter so that she might free her father from the debt, and he himself be guiltless [35] regarding the deposit.* She showed her father where the deposit was, and then returned to her tomb. *It was the Spirit with God who acted thus²⁹.*

When they saw this, many were astonished; and those who heard of it wondered at such miracles and praised the name of the Lord. When Constantine heard of this, he summoned the saint and received blessing from him³⁰. He loved him and kept him with him. But he did not accept such honour, because he was very humble and avoided honour more than every other saint of God.

CHAPTER 16

Concerning the ascetic Eutychianos³¹ and his miracles

[I, 13]³² Let us hear about Eutychianos the *solitary*³³ who led an ascetic life. He illuminated the souls of many and healed pains of the body [36] because of the grace of God in him. Passing over many of his miracles, let us relate one, *because the man was famous in everything.* A certain soldier, one of the emperor Constantine's *lancers*³⁴ acted treasonably³⁵ *in robbing the lancers; taking [the booty] he fled in rebellion where he could.* When the emperor heard this, he sent soldiers after him with threats, to put him to death wherever he might be found. After much searching he was found in Bithynia. They bound him with heavy and

²⁹ SII omits the reference to Rufinus as the source for this story. For additions regarding the activity of the Holy Spirit see the Introduction, 19.

³⁰ Receiving blessing from a holy man is a common addition in SII; see the Introduction, 21.

³¹ Eutychianos: "Tikianos" in SII, which frequently omits Eu- at the beginning of names; cf. "Sebeos" for Eusebius, p. 74.

³² I, 13: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Eutychianos."

³³ Solitary: *miaynakan*. For vocabulary pertaining to hermits and monks see the Introduction, 22.

³⁴ Lancers: *մծայաբեր*. SI (followed by SII) has misunderstood *δορυφορῶν*, "bearing a lance," as *δωροφορῶν*, "bearing a gift." See also p. 108 below. The *NBHL* notes a similar mistranslation in Plato's *Timaeus*; but the Armenian version of Pseudo-Dionysius, *Heavenly Hierarchy*, II, 1, has the correct *զηταρρησιν*.

³⁵ Treasonably: lit. "tyrannically." "In robbing the lancers" makes little sense here.

solid iron bonds, [37] and placed him securely in prison. *The man*³⁶ made many supplications to Eutychianos to rescue him from death. He bowed to the man's supplications, and undertook to go to the emperor and save him from death.

The bonds were very heavy on the prisoner, and *he* again begged they be lightened so that he might be able to endure them. [38] The man of God sent word to the *gaolers*³⁷ to lighten the bonds, but they did not wish to do so. They said: "Pardon brings us danger *from the emperor*." Then the saint of God went to the prison with Auxanes his disciple; but they would not open the prison. *Then he made the sign of the cross opposite the gate*³⁸. Immediately the gate of the prison opened, and he entered inside. The iron bonds were loosed, and awe gripped all. Taking the rebellious man with him, [39] he brought him to Constantinople. In the presence [of Constantine] he saved him from the emperor's threats. For he knew the man of God and listened kindly to the saint. Receiving him with respect, *he dismissed him with gifts after being blessed by him*³⁹.

CHAPTER 17

Concerning the council in Nicaea. The exile of Arius to the mines, and the words in forewarning of saint Athanasius

The council took place in Nicaea in the 630th⁴⁰ year of the era of Alexander the Macedonian, *and in the tenth year of the reign of the pious Constantine*⁴¹. After the council and the confirmation of the faith and the *canonical definition*⁴² of the holy council *for the exile of Arius and those like-minded to the mines*⁴³ by the emperor, [40] all [the members of] the

³⁶ The man: "Many people" in SI/Soc, hence the following "he" for "they" in SI/Soc.

³⁷ Gaolers: SI reads *պաշտանս*, "guards;" but SII has confused this with the (unnamed) intercessors and reads *պաշան ջողս*, "those requesting."

³⁸ The sign of the cross: a common addition in SII; see the Introduction, 19.

³⁹ Blessing: cf. n. 30 above.

⁴⁰ 630: as SI, against the 636 of Soc. I, 13. 13. AD 325 = 636 of the Seleucid era.

⁴¹ This addition is found in "one manuscript" of SI; see the note in Movsēsean ad loc. "Tenth" must be a mistake for "nineteenth" [the 9 dropping out], which is found in SI/Soc. See p. 42 for 325 as the date of Constantine's Vicennalia.

⁴² Canonical definition: *սաՀմանի կանոն*, for the "canons" of SI/Soc. This is an important expression for SII; see the Introduction, 23.

⁴³ To the mines: *ի մետաղս*. This is a consistent addition in SII when exile, *ի աքաղաղս*, is mentioned; see p. 74, 179, etc. Cf. also MX, II, 90, where the phrase is used of Arius's

council went to each one's land with the true faith and canonical definition. The emperor Constantine went to the west after the council.

[I, 14]⁴⁴ Eusebius and Theognis, with the chief bishops, sent letters⁴⁵ of penitence to the emperor, that he might restore to each one's place those exiled. He agreed and restored the exiles to each one's place. But he prevented Arius from going to Alexandria; *he was to stay wherever [else] he might wish*. However, he eventually found a way through a false repentance to go to Alexandria.

[I, 15]⁴⁶ In these [times] the bishop Alexander died, and Athanasius succeeded to the throne⁴⁷. [41] He had been with Alexander at the holy council of Nicaea, being of mature age and a deacon. *Honoured by the holy council⁴⁸ and confessing the right faith, he was praised for his worthy life*. The orthodox summoned him *at the command of the emperor Constantine to the throne of the evangelist Mark⁴⁹*. *Not by force, but by divine providence was he invited*, as is related concerning him⁵⁰. Once it happened that bishop Alexander was going to church on the day of the commemoration of Peter, bishop and martyr, and he saw boys of the same age playing at the *priestly mystery*⁵¹. He observed the youths *and saw that this was an imitation of the liturgy*. The boys convened a council and appointed Athanasius to the throne as at a summons to the episcopate⁵². Then each of the others received *from him the rank of bishop or of priest or of deacon, or another rank in the clergy of the church*. On seeing this Alexander reflected. [42] He was astonished and said that the events were truly an indication *from God. Which indeed happened later*,

exile, and III, 33, of Nersēs and other bishops. For the mines as forced labour see Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, I, 58, II, 20.

⁴⁴ I, 14: In SI/Soc: "Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea recant their support for Arius and are reinstated."

⁴⁵ Letters: Soc. gives the text of one common letter, which is omitted in SI.

⁴⁶ I, 15: In SI/Soc: "Athanasius is appointed bishop of Alexandria."

⁴⁷ In 328. Alexander died on 17 April and Athanasius was consecrated on 8 June.

⁴⁸ Honoured by the council: cf. MX, III, 33, who has Nersēs attend the council of CP in 381 [elaborating on *Buzandaran* IV, 5 and 13], where he was similarly honoured. Athanasius is consistently regarded as a prime model of orthodoxy in all Armenian texts.

⁴⁹ For the evangelist Mark and Egypt cf. p. 164 below and MX, III, 62. Mark is not mentioned by Socrates.

⁵⁰ I.e. by Rufinus, mentioned below.

⁵¹ Priestly mystery: *քահանայական խորհրդութիւն*, for "priesthood" in SI.

⁵² Episcopate: *քահանայապետութիւն*, for the *Եպիսկոպոսութիւն* of SI. *Քահանայապետ*, *k'ahanayapet*, lit. "chief priest," is used extensively in the *Buzandaran* for the chief bishop of Armenia; see *EH*, 534, and also *Aa* §796.

as he had foreseen⁵³. He ordered the youths to be raised for the Lord with much solicitude. This Rufinus of Nicomedia⁵⁴ recorded in the summons of Athanasius, and related in his account.

CHAPTER 18

The construction of Constantinople, its being named "New Rome," and its buildings

[I, 16]⁵⁵ After this the emperor returned from the west to Constantinople in the twentieth year of his reign⁵⁶. He was zealous to repair [43] the churches in various cities. He expanded the city named after himself with high walls, and completely surrounded it with wonderful constructions⁵⁷. He arranged the buildings according to a vision indicated to him, making the visible from the invisible⁵⁸. He improved it in every respect more than⁵⁹ the royal city of Rome, and called it "the city of Constantine." He commanded the second Rome to be lord over the world, as was written on a pillar⁶⁰ at the entrance to the city, [so that] those who read it might understand all these events.

In the same year he built [44] two churches⁶¹ in Constantinople and adorned them with amazing beauty and adornment, to be provided with ministers who would praise God continuously. He also laid the foundation of the great and very high Saint Sophia⁶² in accordance with visions

⁵³ For the themes of prognostications and divine providence in SII see the Introduction, 19.

⁵⁴ Of Nicomedia. Rufinus was a presbyter of Aquileia. SII must have confused him with Eusebius! For the confusion between Eusebius of Nicomedia and Eusebius of Caesarea, cf. p. 14. All other references in SI/Soc to Rufinus are omitted by SII.

⁵⁵ I, 16: In SI/Soc: "The building of Constantinople."

⁵⁶ Constantine celebrated his Vicennalia on 25 July 325.

⁵⁷ Wonderful constructions: *Ἐραζαφί ἰαυρηίνωαδνίρ*, the same phrase as on p. 9 above.

⁵⁸ SII adds the reference to a vision. Cf. Łazar, 3-4, where after seeing a vision of the Cross on the bank of the river Danube and defeating his enemies, Constantine founds his new capital.

⁵⁹ More than: "equal to" in SI/Soc.

⁶⁰ On a pillar: *ἰαυρδωνίρ*, rendering the Greek. The printed text of SI here reads: *ἡ ἰερωῖ δῆρῖ*, "on a horse." But this corruption must postdate the revision of the text by the redactor of SII.

⁶¹ SII omits the names of the churches of Irene and the Apostles.

⁶² SII anachronistically thinks of Saint Sophia as the grandest church in CP. "Saint Sophia" is first attested as the name of the "Great Church" circa 430; see *DOB*, s.v. The original Great Church was built by Constantius II and dedicated in 360. The present

from Christ God. In every way he tried to increase the observance of piety among Christians and the churches of God. He destroyed the temples of the idols; and he stopped their vows and filthy cults of abominations. *He ordered the images of the idols to be set on the walls of other cities.* The Delphic tripod he placed publicly in the Hippodrome of the city. It is superfluous to mention now the things seen and heard. For at that time the city and all the country had by law its greatest tradition of Christianity, in the time of the emperor Constantine. To an even greater extent the providence of God provided for the praise of the king, which one may hear from *the Histories, like the History of Eusebius*⁶³. So passing over it briefly, I shall explain [as follows].

[45]

CHAPTER 19

The history of Helen, mother of Constantine, worthy of record; her building of the holy places in Jerusalem, her finding the holy Cross and bringing it to Constantinople, and her death

[I, 17]⁶⁴ Helen, the emperor's mother, is even more worthy of record for good deeds. *There is a History concerning her which those who wish may study*⁶⁵; but I shall relate briefly her actions. Constantine adorned the town of his mother, Drepanum, *as a famous city with buildings and splendour*, and called the town "city of Helen" after his mother's name. *She, blessedly famed in all respects, was God-loving; pious, and wise; totally firm in the faith and in her conduct she was even more worthy of praise.* This blessed Helen received a command from God in a night vision to go to Jerusalem [46] *and seek the wood of Christ's Cross and build the churches of God: the Tomb, Sion, Ascension, Golgotha, Resurrection, the Nativity of Christ at Bethlehem, the church of the holy Mother of God where she died*⁶⁶, Lazarus, and Saint Stephen. She

structure is Justinian's, dating from 537. For Constantine's own churches see Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, III, 48, and commentary in Cameron/Hall.

⁶³ I.e. the *Life of Constantine*, mentioned in I, 1.

⁶⁴ I, 17: In SI/Soc: "Helen in Jerusalem."

⁶⁵ I.e. the story of Judas Cyriacus and the finding of the Cross, mentioned also in MX, II, 83. Drijvers and Drijvers give a translation of the Syriac version; for the Armenian see VV, II, 429-439. See also Drijvers, *Helena Augusta*, for a general account.

⁶⁶ Where she died: *մբ Հանդիսանի է*. There is no reference to these churches in the *Life of Judas*.

related to Constantine this vision and God's command. He readily and with faith accepted the words of his mother, gave her much gold and silver, and sent her to Jerusalem with a large escort [47] to seek the Cross and to build the churches of the vision as had been shown [to her]⁶⁷.

She came and found Jerusalem, according to the prophecy, like a tent for fruits *and like a shade among melon-gardens*⁶⁸, and like a city made desolate by foreign peoples. *Gathering the Jews, she requested the wood of the Cross of Christ, as the History indicates.* The finding of the Cross and nails I reckon superfluous to write down. The emperor's mother Helen restored the New Jerusalem with churches⁶⁹ *according to the indication of the vision [from] God. She adorned it with wonderful constructions⁷⁰ and much splendour in accordance with the liturgical function of each one, to the glory of Christ's name.*

[48] *In fear and awe of God she was perpetually fasting and praying together with many women and numerous holy virgins, with whom she properly carried out her continuous prayers. She used to fill the poor and needy, and adorned the churches with notable vessels. She used to celebrate the joyful feasts according to each one's liturgy for each of the churches⁷¹.* [49] *She also arranged ministers so that the worship of God would be performed without interruption. Then she took leave of the ministers and holy churches. A part of the holy Cross she left in Jerusalem; taking the rest with her, she brought it to Constantinople with the nails⁷². They celebrated the encaenia on the 13th of September; and on the following day, the 14th of September, the feast of the holy Cross⁷³. Then the holy Cross was shown to the emperor and to the multitude of the people, and the emperor kissed it. He enclosed it, and this was like a covering for the Cross; and he rejoiced and blessed God. With such spiritual celebration and joy they praised God. When these things had thus taken place to the glory of God, the blessed Helen went*

⁶⁷ SI/Soc mention only three churches: the "New Jerusalem" over Christ's tomb; Bethlehem, over the cave of Christ's birth; and that on the Mount of his Ascension.

⁶⁸ SII completes the quotation from Is. 1. 8.

⁶⁹ With churches: SII omits the names of the churches at Bethlehem and at the site of the Ascension, for which Helen had been responsible; see Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, III, 41-43, and *ibid*, III, 33-40, for that of the Holy Sepulchre built by Constantine.

⁷⁰ Wonderful constructions: as above of CP, p. 43.

⁷¹ For Helen's piety cf. Eusebius, *Life*, III, 43-47.

⁷² According to SI/Soc Helen *sent* part of the Cross and nails to Constantine.

⁷³ For this feast see Drijvers and Drijvers, 72; but it was established in Jerusalem, not CP.

to her own city. With consecrated virgins she lived in undisturbed fasting and prayer. [50] Aged eighty, she died. The emperor took her body and laid it to rest in Rome, in the tombs of the kings, *with great honour to the glory and praise of our God.*

[I, 18]⁷⁴ After this he was even more eager for care of the Christians *and the splendour of the churches.* He tried to convert all the heathen sects, *and destroyed the images of himself which were in the temples,* and stopped their worship⁷⁵. *He advised them to worship the living God, to abandon the nonsense of the idols and divination and sorcery*⁷⁶. Through the cross of Christ with faith he gained victory over all harmful persons *who were afflicted by demons. For the providence of benevolent God never abandons his creatures in matters visible and invisible*⁷⁷.

[51]

CHAPTER 20

Barbarians attack the land of Rome and [Constantine's] victory over them

There occurred at that time an attack of barbarians into the land of Rome. But no harm befell the Christians or the churches of God in accordance with Constantine's faith. [52] With the *cross*⁷⁸ of Christ as champion he overcame and turned them back with many indignities. *He himself returned to his own city gloriously, to the praise of God.*

⁷⁴ I, 18: In SI/Soc: "Constantine ends paganism, destroys temples and builds churches."

⁷⁵ Cf. Eusebius, *Life*, IV, 14-16, for the "Christian" image of Constantine and his forbidding that images of himself be set up in temples.

⁷⁶ Nonsense: բազադմանք, which is common in Eznik as a term of abuse for his opponents' views, and is used by MX, II, 7, of "nonsensical fables." The *NBHL*, s.v., notes that it is common in Armenian translations of patristic texts in the context of paganism. For "divination" and "sorcery," Հմայք, դիւթութիւնք, see the parallels in Thomson, "Let the Astrologers."

⁷⁷ God's providence, demons: see the Introduction for such additions.

⁷⁸ Cross: Soc refers to the τρόπαιον, rendered ախյէան, "trophy or champion," in SI. SII adds "Cross."

CHAPTER 21

The emperor Constantine during his lifetime builds the churches of Mambre through Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea. The evil custom of Phoenicia is abolished. He builds a church in Heliopolis. He abolishes the altars of the oracle demon in Cilicia

He sent Eusebius, the bishop of Caesarea, *with money* to build a church where God had appeared to Abraham by the oak of Mambre⁷⁹. And because there was an altar under the oak and sacrifices [were made there], he ordered it to be destroyed *and the cult of pagans to be removed, and churches built in the name of the Lord, and ministers to be appointed so that the worship of God might be continuous where God had appeared to Abraham*. He also ordered him [53] to go to Phoenicia to abolish the evil custom which they had in Heliopolis⁸⁰ from their ancestors. For they had legislated that women should be in common for men, and they taught the same law in the country. Among them there was much dispute concerning offspring, because the father did not recognise the one born from himself [and] his wife. They gave virgins to visiting strangers for fornication. [*And there were*] *many evils which through the demons*⁸¹ *darkened the city and the country, which the emperor's command abolished; and the preaching of Christ [abolished] the darkness of sin*. A church was built in Heliopolis, and he ordained a bishop and priests, who were appointed in accordance with Christianity. Each man had his own [54] wife and children without confusion, and they thanked God.

The emperor ordered the temple of Aphrodite which was near to Aphaka of Lebanon to be destroyed, and he extirpated the obscene *sodomy*⁸² and taught sobriety. The altar of the oracle demon which was in Cilicia, which it occupied by force, he ordered to be destroyed, and its evil custom to be removed from its foundations. *Everywhere he was zealous to raise up churches in opposition to the temples, and to increase the rites of Christians*. He adorned the churches with varied notable and splendid vessels, [55] just as Moses [had done] for the

⁷⁹ SII changes the role of Eusebius. According to Soc/SI, Constantine blamed him by letter for allowing the pagan practice. See Gen. 18. 1 for the oak tree at Mambre, and Eusebius, *Life*, III, 51-53, for the building of the church there.

⁸⁰ Heliopolis: *ἡλιετι πόλις*, "sun city," as SI.

⁸¹ Demons: as p. 7.

⁸² Sodomy: *ἄρρητοποίητα*, as SI, for the ἀρρητοποίητα, "unmentionable acts," of Soc.

tabernacle; and in desert places [he built] chapels for those who might wish to pray to God⁸³. *Not by anyone was he deflected away from piety or the faith.*

In these [times] war was provoked by *Satan*⁸⁴ from the Persians against Constantine; *but by the prayers of the saints with extended hands and the faith of the emperor it was changed into peace. For he brought many cities and lands to rectitude, embellishing them with churches and services.* Because it is impossible to describe his good works, which are too many to record in few words, [56] as for the rest [I must] leave it to others to rehearse his history. We shall briefly mention his deeds for the memory of the church⁸⁵.

CHAPTER 22

Concerning the faith in God of India and Inner India through holy men

[I, 19]⁸⁶ I shall also describe how in his times the preaching of Christ was extended on earth, for the Indians and Inner Indians⁸⁷ and Iberians at the same time received the beginning of faith. When the apostles drew lots for the world to preach to the gentiles, Thomas had the apostleship of the Parthians; [57] Matthew that of the Ethiopians; Bartholomew that of the Indians⁸⁸ and of the other Indians where dwelt the nation of barbarians, who use many languages. Before the time of Constantine the word of preaching had [not yet]⁸⁹ illuminated them according to the apostle and the evangelism of Christ.

⁸³ SI/Soc refer to a single tabernacle, like that of Moses, which Constantine used for worship on his own campaigns.

⁸⁴ SII frequently adds references to Satan, "the Enemy" or "the Evil One;" see the Introduction, 21-22. In Aa, §77, the "Enemy, *βελουδῆ*," is rendered by *μισόκαλος* in Vg; for this term see Bartelink.

⁸⁵ SII omits the paragraph on Socrates writing his History as a record and guide to the reader [I, 18. 15-16], although Armenian historians often are quite explicit about their motives.

⁸⁶ I, 19: In SI/Soc: "Christianity is brought to India."

⁸⁷ In the printed text SI here adds *Հայր* [sic!], "Armenians [misspelled]," which cannot be a reading of the original version.

⁸⁸ Here SI adds after "India": "who are equal [or "alike," *դոյր*] to the Armenians." This does not appear in SII and is unlikely to be original to the first Armenian rendering. For Bartholomew as apostle to the Armenians see MX, II, 34, and van Esbroeck, "La naissance du culte."

⁸⁹ SII omits "not yet [*չեւ եւս* in SI]."

Now who was the cause of their faith I shall explain. A certain Meropius, a philosopher and believer in God, by race a Tyrian, taking with him intelligent youths related to him, went to the Indians who were among the pagans. [58] Boarding ship, he arrived at the port of an island, and instructed the youths there in the wisdom of Christ's preaching. Then soldiers⁹⁰ fell on them, captured the youths, and took them to the king of the Indians. They pleased the king; one he made cup-bearer, whose name was Edesios, and the other secretary of the chancery⁹¹, whose name was Frumentius. After much activity and [many] years the youths grew up and were loved by the king and his wife. Then the death of the king occurred and [his wife] freed them.

The king had a young son who inherited his throne. Then the [young] king's mother begged the men not to leave the cares [of the kingdom] to the king's son. They agreed and undertook [the government] until the youth should grow up. [59] They took care of the royal concerns and observed Christianity with pure hearts, engaged in continuous prayer. They sent a message to their own country to come to them. On arrival they became their companions in prayer. They built a chapel and brought some to the faith; in unity they blessed God. After this they begged the king and his mother to let them go to their own country to see their families, and [they said] they would return again. They agreed and carried out the request.

They departed and reached Alexandria. Edesios went to visit his family. But Frumentius remained there and informed Athanasius the holy patriarch⁹² about what [60] had happened, adding that it was not right to be unconcerned with the faith of that country. When saint Athanasius heard this, he urged Frumentius to the bishopric of the land of the Indians, so that he might receive wages from Christ with the spiritual labourers. Then by the inspiration of the holy Spirit he ordained Frumentius to the episcopacy, who immediately went and preached the gospel with the priests whom he took with him. Readily the king and the whole country received it, as it was preached by that reliable man. And he built churches⁹³.

⁹⁰ Soldiers: the Indians, in SI/Soc.

⁹¹ Secretary of the chancery: *ἡλιωνաց ἡμῆρ*, for *ἡλιωνաց ἱεροῦ ὑποβύτης* in SI, which renders the Greek.

⁹² Patriarch: *ἡγούμενος*; SII frequently, but not consistently, calls the bishops of CP, Rome, Alexandria and Antioch "patriarch," where SI/Soc have "bishop." See the Introduction, 20, for further references. On p. 643 the bishop of CP is called *ἡγούμενος ἡγούμενος*, "chief patriarch."

⁹³ Churches: *ἐκκλησιαί*, for the "houses of prayer," *συναγωγαί*, of SI, a direct rendering of *εὐκτήρια*.

The name of the Lord was magnified with many signs and miracles, which the Lord demonstrated through him to that country. *Edesios, [61] made worthy of the same grace, came to preach the same [gospel] to the Indians. By the firm faith of them both God was glorified*⁹⁴.

CHAPTER 23

The call of the Iberians to Christ's faith according to God's providence through the woman Nunē, one of the companions of the holy Rhip'simē; and the setting up of crosses

[I, 20]⁹⁵ In those same times the Iberians too received instruction in the faith⁹⁶ according to providence⁹⁷. A certain woman, full of modesty, was leading a *god-like* life, a *fugitive*⁹⁸ for Christ. She came to Iberia, to the capital city, where the king of the Iberians lived. [62] These are not the Iberians in Spain, but in the northern region near to Pontus⁹⁹. This woman dwelt amongst barbarians, full of modesty, leading an ascetic life with fasts and prayers. *She worshipped the God of heaven and earth, and amazed the barbarians.*

It happened that the young child of the king fell ill. His wife ordered the nurse to take the child around among the women to see if some remedy might be found. But she found none. She came to the *fugitive* holy woman. Then the latter, placing the child *in her bosom* [63] *on the garments* of hair-cloth which she wore, before the multitude *lifted her eyes to heaven*, and in a voice clear to them said: "Christ God, who have healed many, cure this child in your name *so that these people may*

⁹⁴ But SI/Soc state that Edesios was later a priest at Tyre, not that he returned to India.

⁹⁵ I, 20: In SI/Soc: "The conversion of the Iberians." For a comparison of SI and SII in this chapter with the account in MX, II, 86, see Akinean, "P'ok'r Sokrat," 186-90. As usual, SII omits the reference in SI/Soc to the source [here Rufinus]. For the Armenian version of the account in the Georgian Chronicles see *Georgian Chronicles* [trans. Thomson], 84-143.

⁹⁶ Instruction in the faith: *կոչումն րիծայութեան*, the Armenian title of Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catecheses*.

⁹⁷ Providence: a frequent addition in SII; see the Introduction, 19.

⁹⁸ Fugitive: *Հալածեալ*, for the *գերեալ*, "captive," of SI/Soc. She is not named in Socrates, or SI. The name "Nunē" in the later title to this chapter is the Armenian form, not the "Nino" of Georgian sources. MX, II, 86, says that Nunē had "fled" to Iberia, being one of the scattered companions of the martyred Rhip'simē.

⁹⁹ Soc states that these Iberians are a "colony, ἄποικοι," of the Iberians of Spain; SI: "these Iberians live in Euxine Pontus, but are separate from the Iberians in Spain."

recognise that you are God."¹⁰⁰ *She sealed the child with the sign of the cross*¹⁰¹, and immediately it was rendered healthy. *She gave it back to the nurse, who brought it to its mother and related what had occurred. She was astonished, and a report concerning her [Nunē] went out over all the land of the Iberians.*

Not many days later the king's wife also fell ill and summoned the holy woman. She did not wish to go to the king's palace, *but had her brought to her own miserable hovel.* When they had brought her, *she stood up and prayed to the Lord, said the same words and sealed her with the sign of the cross.* Being cured immediately, she arose and went and told the king what had happened. [64] The king sent many gifts to the woman who was filled with [such] grace. But she returned the gifts, saying: *"The bestower of my gift is Christ God, whom I worship, who fills my needs when he wishes."* Then the king in amazement stored this *in his mind and did not forget.*

After a few days the king went out to hunt. The following happened to him. A misty darkness covered the mountains and plains, where the hunt was; for it was unfrequented and the road could not be discerned. In perplexity he called on his gods, but no help was forthcoming. Then he thought [65] of summoning to his help that God whom the fugitive woman worshipped [*saying*]: *"If there occurs through him an escape from my darkness, I shall worship him."* And he said: *"Help me, God of the woman who for your sake is a fugitive."* Straightway the darkness was dissolved and he continued his journey to his house with rejoicing, and blessed God. On arrival he told his wife *and the nobles* about the things that had happened; *and they were amazed.* He asked for the woman and summoned her to his house. He asked her: *"Who is the God whom you worship with miracles?"* *Beginning from the scriptures she preached to him Christ God the Saviour of the world before a large crowd, and they believed in her words. Many other signs the Lord showed*¹⁰² *through the holy and modest woman.* Following this, the king was a preacher to men and his wife to women, being instructed by her *to the glory of God.* *He ordered the sign of the Cross of Sion to be set up. And because it was not the work of an artisan, [66] it was despised by many. Then the holy woman prayed all night, and in the morning the sign of the Cross shone out, which astonished those far and near. And they were confirmed in the faith*¹⁰³.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Jn. 17. 1, 3.

¹⁰¹ Sign of the Cross: see the Introduction, 19.

¹⁰² Cf. Jn. 20. 30.

¹⁰³ This addition is echoed in MX, II, 86.

Then he ordered a house of prayer to be built, and they did not delay to carry out his instructions. The workers were unable to set up the columns of the house of prayer by any machinery. *And the whole crowd, with the king, although they often struggled, were unable to set it up.* But the holy woman, standing at that place, prayed. Immediately the columns stood up over the bases without [the help of] a man or of machinery. The whole multitude cried out, confessing the God of the woman to be true. Great was the faith of the king *and the queen. And he praised [67] the name of the Lord.*

Here occurred the treaty of the Iberians with Constantine, so that he might send them bishops and priests who would establish the rites of the church among them, *in accordance with the preaching of the female-apostle, whose name was Nunē, one of the companions of the holy Rhip'simē who was martyred in Armenia*¹⁰⁴. *I omit mention of her History and the belief of the Armenians with great miracles through the confessor Gregory the Parthian. For the book about the same indicates it accurately*¹⁰⁵. And all this happened in the same year¹⁰⁶.

[68]

CHAPTER 24

The history and life of Antony the hermit

[I, 21]¹⁰⁷ Antony was a hermit¹⁰⁸ in the deserts of Egypt, waging single combat against the demons in war, gaining the victory and overthrowing their futile wiles. This man of God, saint Antony the anchorite, demonstrated many miracles and wonders, as shows the book about him which the blessed Athanasius wrote, *who saw and heard all these things*¹⁰⁹. So it is superfluous to describe him. But I made recollection of the time of good¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁴ This is echoed in MX.

¹⁰⁵ I.e. the *History* of Agat'angelos, not a *History* of Nunē.

¹⁰⁶ Same year: "in the time of Constantine," in SI/Soc. The conversion of Mihran occurred in the 330s, but the exact date is unclear. See Martin-Hisard, "Christianisme," 556. Toumanoff, *Studies*, 374-7, reviews the internal evidence and suggests that the conversion of the king occurred in 334, and the official adoption of Christianity in Iberia followed in 337.

¹⁰⁷ I, 21: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Antony."

¹⁰⁸ Hermit: *անսպասական*, for *սիսյն... յանսպասին*, "solitary in the desert," in SI, following the Greek. For the monastic vocabulary of SII see the Introduction, 22.

¹⁰⁹ For the Armenian version of Athanasius's *Life of Antony* see the edition in Tayec'i, 533-614. The version in VV, I, 57ff., is a later adaptation.

¹¹⁰ Good: singular (perhaps "a good man") for the plural in SI/Soc.

[I, 22]¹¹¹ Now amidst the grain of *the real bread of Christ* grows the tare, the enemy of righteousness, [69] *as the Lord's parable indicates*¹¹²; as also the saying after this warned of false prophets among the prophets of God¹¹³. Just as among the apostles of Christ it creates false apostles, likewise among the true teachers [it creates] schisms of destruction. *After everything comes the Anti-Christ in opposition to Christ. Concerning this the divine scriptures warn, especially Christ himself, as is preached in the gospels*¹¹⁴. I shall speak also concerning the Manichaean who claimed the name of Christianity falsely.

CHAPTER 25

Concerning Mani and his fairy-tales, and his death

A certain Scythian had an Arabian¹¹⁵ wife, and he dwelt in Egypt. He taught their art, and he introduced the thoughts of Pythagoras [70] into the demonstration of Christianity, and he introduced two natures — of good and of evil. Burto was his disciple, who earlier was called Siser¹¹⁶; he went to the land of Babylon and dwelt *under its walls*¹¹⁷. He showed many [aspects of] magism, and said he had been born of a virgin and raised among the mountains. He composed four books: one he named "Of Mysteries," the next "Gospel," the third "Treasure," and the fourth "Chapters." In this way he feigned to perform oblations. There [71] he was demon-afflicted by the Spirit¹¹⁸, and that foul one was killed. A woman who was nearby buried him.

Taking his possessions she bought a boy seven years old by the name of Kubrikos¹¹⁹. She taught him reading and writing and set him free.

¹¹¹ I, 22: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Mani."

¹¹² Mt. 13. 25-43.

¹¹³ Mt. 13. 57; see also the next note.

¹¹⁴ Christ does not mention "Anti-Christ, *հեռն*," in the gospels; but cf. Mt. 7. 15, 24. 11, Mk. 13. 22, for the rise of "false prophets."

¹¹⁵ Arabian: *սածիկ*, as SI, i.e. the Arabs of northern Mesopotamia; it is the standard Armenian rendering for *σαρακηνός*. For the origin of the name from the tribe Tayy see Hübschmann, 86-7.

¹¹⁶ Burto, Siser: "Budus," "Siser" in SI. *Siser* means "chick-pea;" "Terebinthos" of the Greek was thus read without the initial "T".

¹¹⁷ Under its walls: *ընդ պարսպաւրն*, a corruption of *ընդ Պարսաւրն*, "among the Persians" in SI, as Soc.

¹¹⁸ Demon-afflicted by the Spirit: *այսաՀարեալ ի Հոգւոյն*, for the *այսա Հարեալ ի Հոգւոյ* of SI, "then he was afflicted by a spirit."

¹¹⁹ Łazar, *Letter*, 192, is the first Armenian author to mention the name Kubrik, though Mani and his heresy are known to Eznik, §146-150.

When the woman died, Kubrikos took her possessions and the books. Going to the regions of Persia, he called himself Mani. The intent of his writings means destruction, and deceitfully distorts the [teaching] of the Christians. He teaches to worship many gods, and says to worship the sun and the moon because, he says, the body of Christ became the sun and his blood is in the moon¹²⁰. The birth of Christ he calls an appearance, and not a true one; [72] and he despises the law and the prophets, and calls himself the Consoler¹²¹. He names himself among the letters of the Apostles¹²². For which reason he received a worthy condemnation.

The son of the Persian king fell ill, and on hearing that Mani performed miracles like Christ's apostles, he summoned him to cure his son. He was presumptuous enough to place his hand on the ill one, and immediately the son died. [The king] in anger put Mani in prison to punish him. On escaping, he went to Mesopotamia. A search was made [73] and he was recaptured. He was flayed alive and his flesh given to dogs as food¹²³. His skin was filled with straw, and the foul Mani was hung on the wall by the city gate. These things Archelaus, the bishop of Mesopotamia, relates; and he reproves and blames him, because he was a pupil and teacher of error. And [Archelaus] made many orthodox discourses for the consolation of the church. [74] He refutes the impiety of Mani, [for the edification of] those who wish to learn¹²⁴.

CHAPTER 26

Concerning the return of Arius from the mines

[I, 23]¹²⁵ Let us go back to the previous history concerning Arius and those who were with him in the mines¹²⁶. They returned through Eusebius

¹²⁰ For Christ as the sun see Garsoïan, *Paulicianism*, 103, n. 84, and Appendix III at 239, and Rose, *Christologie*. Eznik, §149, refers to Manichaeans as worshippers of the sun.

¹²¹ I.e. the Holy Spirit; see Jn. 14. 16, 26.

¹²² This sentence is a misinterpretation of SI/Soc: "He calls himself an apostle in his letters."

¹²³ For Mani's fate see also Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis* VI, Arm. text, 115: Mani was flayed and his body thrown as carrion to wild beasts. Dogs: reading շահյ for the *quibq* of the printed text; see Akinean, "P'ok'r Sokrat," 173.

¹²⁴ Cyril's account refers to Archelaus. There seems to be no Armenian version of the *Acta*; see Anasyan, II, 934-5.

¹²⁵ I, 23: In SI/Soc: "Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis attack Athanasius regarding Arius."

¹²⁶ This first sentence is based on an addition in SI. In the mines: "among the exiles," in SI; cf. p. 39.

of *Caesarea*¹²⁷ and Theognis. Other bishops also interceded with the emperor [for them] as having returned to the truth. They received authorisation from the emperor to hold each one his throne, and those who had been [installed] in their places were to have another diocese. [75] In these matters those who were colleagues of Arius more than ever before deceived the good intentions of the emperor. Then they first committed treachery on Athanasius as living unworthily of the calling of a bishop, because he had not been attested by reliable witnesses. But the saint of God was revealed as superior to this treachery. Then those who were anxious to cause harm to Athanasius relayed to Eusebius the lawless behaviour of Athanasius, [76] that he would not receive Arius in Alexandria, so that thereby they might confirm his heterodoxy.

Eusebius wrote begging him to receive Arius and those in his party, and uttered threats if he would not agree. But Athanasius did not heed the protests, nor was he frightened by the threats. Subsequently, the emperor persuaded him to see Arius and to hear him, because after his return he had not seen him, as a little later I shall explain. But the church was in turmoil *with regard to Arius* that his evil [doctrines] were ambiguous, because they provided views both in favour of the faith of Nicaea and in favour of those who thought the opposite. We have found in his letters, which after the council he wrote to the chief bishops, that the confession of the Trinity as "consubstantial"¹²⁸ caused confusion, and its investigation raised conflict, like fighting in the night¹²⁹, [77] and they did not appear to understand each other. For some they were the doctrine of Sabellius; for others, the heterodoxy of Montanus; while for others they were introducing consubstantiality as polytheism. *In this way they were confused and a schism was created by the Evil One*¹³⁰. Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, said that Eusebius Pamphilus did not fully hold the faith of Nicaea. But the latter said it was not so, and said of him [Eustathius] that he held the faith of Sabellius¹³¹.

¹²⁷ SI/Soc do not specify which Eusebius is intended, and SII misidentifies the bishop of Nicomedia. This is a natural mistake for an Armenian unfamiliar with the details of the Arian controversy. Eusebius is spelled "Sebi;" cf. p. 35 for the frequent loss of initial "Eu-."

¹²⁸ Consubstantial: *Համադրոյ*, the standard Armenian rendering of *ὁμοούσιος*. It is not used in the earliest theological texts, e.g. the *Teaching*, or the *Demonstration* attributed to Yovhannes Mandakuni; cf. Tallon, *Livre*, 102.

¹²⁹ Fighting in the night: *գիշերամարտութիւն*, as SI, a calque on *νυκτομαχία*; cf. p. 654 for a similar metaphorical use, and p. 591 for a literal use.

¹³⁰ Evil One: cf. p. 55.

¹³¹ SII omits reference to the writings of Eustathius and Eusebius.

[I, 24]¹³² The council at Antioch was in disagreement. They anathematised Eustathius, not only because of Sabellius but also for other reasons. But some of the council uttered anathemas unjustly. [78] Then the city of Antioch was in turmoil. Some said Eusebius Pamphilus *should be summoned*¹³³, while others said Eustathius should be confirmed. There was a severe battle as they considered [the use of] swords. [79] But the emperor's letters brought an end to the tumult. Eusebius was commanded to go from the bishopric of Antioch to Caesarea as his own throne, and was praised by the emperor.

[80]

CHAPTER 27

How they tried to justify Arius, and he was sent to Alexandria

[I, 25]¹³⁴ I shall describe also the reasons for Arius's audience with the emperor. Constantia, the sister of Constantine, was the wife of the emperor Licinius, [81] who had been put to death for rebellion¹³⁵. A certain Arian priest deceived Constantia, the emperor's sister, that the council had unjustly condemned Arius. He persuaded her that Arius should be presented to the emperor. But Constantia did not dare to speak out. It happened that she fell ill and was about to die. She summoned the emperor and entrusted her household and family to him, and also testified to that priest's piety and loyalty towards the royal house. After her death he was appointed to the emperor's family, [82] and gaining liberty to speak, repeated the same words. He said that Arius had been condemned unjustly by the council. And he drew attention to the words of Eusebius to the emperor: "Were you to meet him, you would recognise his confession." And he said that he had spoken not unjustly in these matters.

[The emperor] responded: "If Arius does not think differently from the worthy [decision]¹³⁶ of the council at Nicaea, I shall receive him with honour, and I shall send by letter to Alexandria that he be received."

¹³² I, 24: In SI/Soc: "The council at Antioch."

¹³³ Summoned: i.e. as bishop, *ἀπεκλήθη* meaning here "to translate [from one see to another]." Note the spellings "Sebios" and "Stat'eos;" cf. just above.

¹³⁴ I, 25: In SI/Soc: "Efforts to restore Arius to Alexandria."

¹³⁵ Rebellion: lit. "involvement in tyranny." For this usage see above, p. 36. Constantia... rebellion: this has been added into the text of the *Anonymous Chronicle* prefixed to Sebēos, 60; see Abgaryan, n. 91 ad loc.

¹³⁶ The worthy [decision]: *ἠρεσκυμία*; cf. below, p. 265, Socrates III, 21, for a similar use of *ἠρεσκυμία*.

*The priest informed [83] Arius of this by letter*¹³⁷. So Arius was summoned by the emperor to Constantinople, and with him Euzoius, the deacon excommunicated by Alexander. At the audience he requested [their] statement of confession of the holy council. They confirmed the same in writing *deceitfully* at the emperor's wish.

[I, 26]¹³⁸ [84] They said: "As your Piety commanded our confession [concerning] God, this same we confess and all those who are with us: the Father and Son and Holy Spirit¹³⁹, just as all the holy catholic church and the writings of the saints indicate. And if [we do not believe] thus, may God judge us here and on the day of visitation. In these matters we beg your benevolent and pious will to give us a document of peace and unity with all the churches, [85] so that God may be glorified with one mouth, and that being at peace in unity we may offer continuous prayers to God omnipotent for your *immortal*¹⁴⁰ reign."

[I, 27]¹⁴¹ *Their declaration seemed pleasing because their deceit seemed good, but their wickedness was total.* Then he sent Arius to Alexandria, not with notable superior glory¹⁴² [86] but with letters of acceptance to Athanasius to receive those who had been restored. But Athanasius did not receive him, for he knew his trickery, which there too indicated the seed of wickedness¹⁴³, as the Sabellian says of Athanasius. In those [times] Egypt was thrown into confusion. Then those of the party of Eusebius persuaded the emperor to write again that he should receive Arius into unity. But Athanasius did not accept into communion the one received by all¹⁴⁴ or those condemned by the council and anathematised, being warned by God¹⁴⁵. He wrote to the emperor [87] not to believe his trickery, but [to trust] the council which had anathematised and removed them. However, the emperor strove for the unity of the church, because he was anxious for that. He wrote to Athanasius with petitions to receive him, and again sent threats if he did not agree¹⁴⁶.

¹³⁷ SI/Soc here quote the letter of Constantine to Arius, which was sent directly. SI: "This letter was given to Arius."

¹³⁸ I, 26: In SI/Soc: "The statement of Arius."

¹³⁹ Here SI, followed by SII, omits the full creed in Soc.

¹⁴⁰ Immortal: *αἰδιότατος*, for "pious" in SI/Soc. For this epithet applied to kings cf. MX, III, 42, in the letter of Shapuh, "king of kings," to his Armenian princes.

¹⁴¹ I, 27: In SI/Soc: "Arius returns but is rejected by Athanasius."

¹⁴² Not... glory: Here SII is close to SI, which has misinterpreted Soc.

¹⁴³ Cf. Is. 1. 4. But what is the source for "the Sabellian"?

¹⁴⁴ The one... all: SII here follows SI, which has misinterpreted the Greek: "Athanasius totally refused to accept."

¹⁴⁵ Warned by God: cf. the Introduction, 19.

¹⁴⁶ SII omits the text of the letter found in SI/Soc.

CHAPTER 28

Concerning the false accusation against Athanasius and his exile

The party of Eusebius did not delay in supplicating the emperor concerning the wickedness of Athanasius, so that they might be able to expel Athanasius [88] and introduce the error of Arius. They falsely propagated all [sorts of] accusations against Athanasius in accordance with the counsel of *Arius and Eusebius*¹⁴⁷. There was a delation before the emperor that Athanasius had ordered the clergy *to wear*¹⁴⁸ a linen garment. Macarius, a priest of Alexandria happening to be at that place, refuted this, and the emperor silenced the accuser. Furthermore, they said that he had given much gold [89] to someone of the church of God. He sent and summoned Athanasius to his presence; and having there examined him, found him innocent. Then he sent him with a letter and in honour to Alexandria, saying to them that the delation concerning him was false, *because Athanasius was a genuine and true man of God*.

Once more they invented other deceits. There is a district near Alexandria [called] Mareotis, which is under the bishopric of Alexandria. There was someone¹⁴⁹ in it who practised [90] the function of a priest, although he had not been ordained by anyone. When Athanasius heard this, he sent Macarius to investigate the one worthy of death and to verify his presumption. *On being expelled*, he came to Nicomedia, [91] and out of hatred for Athanasius gave himself over to *the haters of God*¹⁵⁰ *who were of the party of Eusebius*; they received him [as] a priest, and promised him a bishopric if he would raise up false accusations against Athanasius. He described the wicked and vicious enormities of Macarius, and said Athanasius was a sorcerer who had taken and kept the hand of a dead man: "I know not whose." But those who were counsellors of wickedness [92] said it was that of a certain Arsenius, who was of the sect of Melitius. They said Athanasius kept this for sorcery; and others [made accusations] concerning other matters *in their wickedness*.

¹⁴⁷ Arius is not in SI/Soc here, but SII has omitted the long list of enemies of Athanasius.

¹⁴⁸ Wear: but "pay a tax," in SI/Soc.

¹⁴⁹ Again SII is deliberately vague, omitting the name [Ischyras]; cf. p. 30.

¹⁵⁰ Haters of God: *αμλετήρ Θεοῦ*. This can be used actively, as here, or passively, "those hated by God," as Wis. 14. 9.

When the emperor learned of this, he sent Eusebius and Theognis, *who held the governorship of that land*¹⁵¹, so that an investigation concerning that matter might be held before them. When Athanasius heard this, [93] he sent and sought out Arsenius. On finding him *he kept him with him in secret until the time when it would be necessary to speak*¹⁵². [I, 28]¹⁵³ Sixty bishops gathered in Tyre to examine this false accusation against Athanasius. They summoned Athanasius to the council, but he did not wish [to come] — not because of the false accusation, but on the grounds that *the colleagues of Eusebius and Theognis, who had persuaded the emperor to receive Arius, would convert the council of Nicaea to Arianism.* [94] But the emperor's command and the officer did not allow him [to be absent]. Macarius was brought in iron bonds by the soldiers with Athanasius.

[I, 29]¹⁵⁴ After much business of the council, the false accusers brought forward [95] [the charge] of the dead man's hand, which they said was that of Arsenius. But Athanasius said: "Is there anyone at this council who knows Arsenius?" Many replied: "Yes." Then he ordered Arsenius to be introduced, and showing them his two hands, [96] he said: "I am not able to show you the place of his third hand."

[I, 30]¹⁵⁵ On seeing this the whole multitude was astonished. In this way Athanasius was exonerated, while the false accusers were put to shame.

[I, 31]¹⁵⁶ *Then they freed Macarius from bonds on the grounds: how could his testimony be acceptable concerning the transgression of the one condemned of false priesthood, as condemned by him according to my word [97] and the canon. Thus they were shown to be correct*¹⁵⁷.

[100] *But Eusebius, who was a confidant of the emperor, and his colleagues who bore hatred towards Athanasius, saw that the man of God had not been harmed in any way as they had planned and intended.*

¹⁵¹ Governorship: *ἡγεμονία*. But Theognis was bishop of Nicaea. The confusion arises because SII has omitted the section in SI/Soc where Dalmatius, *ensor* at Antioch, is sent to investigate. The spelling of "Eusebius" varies in SII, sometimes with the prefix "Eu," sometimes without.

¹⁵² SII has altered SI/Soc: Arsenius could not be apprehended because he kept changing his hiding-place. His discovery occurs in ch. 29, but is omitted there by SII.

¹⁵³ I, 28: In SI/Soc: "The council at Tyre."

¹⁵⁴ I, 29: In SI/Soc: "Arsenius appears at the council."

¹⁵⁵ I, 30: In SI/Soc: "Athanasius is exonerated of the first charge."

¹⁵⁶ I, 31: In SI/Soc: "Athanasius complains of procedures regarding the second charge."

¹⁵⁷ This paragraph in SII is totally distorted. According to SI/Soc, Macarius was detained in bonds while the enemies of Athanasius conducted an investigation in Mareotis.

*Again they raised up another delation against that man of God Athanasius, which I shall describe at the appropriate time. [101] This was their concern, that they might be able to remove Athanasius and install Arius in Alexandria*¹⁵⁸.

[I, 35]¹⁵⁹ They wrote, not the real truth about the false accusation against Athanasius, but this — that Athanasius had held back with threats the grain [shipment] which was due to come to Constantinople. In this way they deceitfully muddled the mind of the emperor concerning Athanasius, and said he had enmity towards Arius *out of envy, not because of the faith*. And because he thought them reliable, the emperor Constantine accepted these accusations from them, being ignorant of their duplicity.

[I, 33] He sent a decree to the council at Tyre that they should go to Jerusalem and receive into communion and union Arius, who had repented and confessed the faith of the holy council; and then [he] should go to Alexandria and Athanasius should come to Constantinople. When these things had so occurred, the council came to Jerusalem. The council received Arius, and sent [word] to Alexandria [102] that they should all receive him, and not be at odds, *and Athanasius was to go to Constantinople*.

[I, 35] Athanasius was ordered by the emperor not to return to Alexandria, but to go in exile to Gaul¹⁶⁰.

[104]

CHAPTER 29

Concerning the death of Arius

[I, 37]¹⁶¹ After the thirtieth year of the reign of Constantine, when Arius arrived in Alexandria with his own people, there was not a little [105] disturbance in the city and in Egypt on the entrance of Arius and the

¹⁵⁸ The order of the following chapters 32-35 has been changed. According to Soc, in ch. 32 Athanasius goes to the emperor from Tyre. In ch. 33 bishops go to Jerusalem to consecrate the "New Jerusalem" and readmit Arius. While they are there, a letter from Constantine summons them to Constantinople to hear the complaint of Athanasius. Ch. 34 gives the text of the letter [omitted in SII]. In ch. 35 the calumny regarding grain shipments is described, and the emperor sends Athanasius into exile in Gaul.

¹⁵⁹ SII omits chs. 32 and 34, and inserts an abbreviated ch. 33 into ch. 35.

¹⁶⁰ SII omits ch. 36: "The heresy and deposition of Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra."

¹⁶¹ I, 37: In SI/Soc: "Arius causes disturbances in Alexandria and is summoned to CP."

deposition of Athanasius. For he perverted the people to his own sect, *not in accordance with the orthodox faith of the holy council of Nicaea*. At that time Alexander had been summoned to the episcopal throne in Constantinople, a modest man, pious and God-fearing. *He made known to the emperor the error of Arius and his perversion [106] and the schism of the people, since he did not preach the right faith to them*¹⁶². On hearing this, Constantine sent by letter and summoned Arius to Constantinople. The party of Eusebius sent to Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, that he should receive Arius lest he be anathematised. But Alexander was concerned, not about anathemas but about the perversion of the faith of the holy council of Nicaea.

He continuously fasted and prayed, *and devoted himself to asceticism and pious rituals* in the church of God, [107] perpetually behaving *in the fashion of recluses*¹⁶³, so great were his many sighs and tears. His request from God was this: *"If the opinion of Arius is correct, you may confirm the unity of orthodoxy to your glory. But if it is a deceit of his and the destruction of the holy faith, dismiss the evil one from the earth by a cruel punishment, as may be pleasing to you, lest we totally perish."*

After this Arius came to Constantinople, and Alexander prostrated himself within the curtain before the holy altar. He wept bitterly [praying to] Christ for three days and three nights¹⁶⁴, while fasting, until he received his request.

[I, 38]¹⁶⁵ [108] When Arius stood before the emperor, he confessed nothing other than the faith of Nicaea; and he signed the declaration of faith, and swore to think or to speak or to do nothing else. He feigned this *with the purpose of deceiving the simple-minded*. The emperor was astonished, *and declared his faith to be in no way wrong or outside the faith of the holy council*. The emperor believed Arius and told Alexander to receive him. He wrote a letter and a command that he should receive him, and he showed to all his confession with an oath, in writing and verbal. *He then [ordered] everyone, even in distant parts, to receive him*.

¹⁶² SI/Soc do not say that Alexander informed the emperor, but that when Constantine heard of the troubles in Alexandria, he sent for Arius; see just below in SII.

¹⁶³ Recluses: *արգելաւոր*. SI/Soc state that Alexander "shut himself up" in the church. SII has changed the sense of SI: *ինքեան զարգելաւորութիւն արարեալ*.

¹⁶⁴ Three: as SI, "many" in Soc.

¹⁶⁵ I, 38: In SI/Soc: "Arius dies in Constantinople; Constantine appoints his sons as Caesars."

of the west under his authority. The name of the second was Constantius, called a homonym of his *father*¹⁷¹ Constantine, who held the region of the east for himself. The name of the third was Constans, who had held authority with his father, [112] because he was the youngest. *He was ten years old in the 30th year of his father's reign; the middle one was twenty, and the first twenty-six [years old]*¹⁷².

[I, 39]¹⁷³ When Constantine had completed sixty-seven¹⁷⁴ [years] he fell ill. Sailing from the city of Constantine he wished to go to the city of his mother Helen, as he intended to use the natural hot [springs] there. But [the illness] put him in increasing danger; and there in Nicomedia he went and stayed in his villa¹⁷⁵. He took a bath in the villa¹⁷⁶, and rising up took residence there. [113] He made a will for his sons as heirs of the kingdom. He wrote and sealed it, and gave it to the priest whom we mentioned above, who secretly adhered to the sect of Arius, so that after his death he might give *to his sons each one's testament*. After a few days he fell asleep *to the glory of God, dying virtuously and in the orthodox faith*; [114] and none of his sons was present. But after his death his demise was made known to *them*¹⁷⁷.

[I, 40]¹⁷⁸ The emperor's nobles adorned a golden coffin for the emperor's body, and laid it out *with a splendid garment and sweet oils and incense*, bringing it to Constantinople with great honour and glory

¹⁷¹ Father: grandfather in SI/Soc. i.e. Constantine's father, Constantius.

¹⁷² The ages of the three brothers are not found in other Armenian sources. Their names in Armenian guise are easily confused: "Kostandin," "Kostand" [Constantius], and "Kostan" [Constans]. Ten years old: for "appointed in the tenth year [of the reign];" twenty: for "appointed in the twentieth year;" twenty-six: for "appointed in the *thirtieth* year." These dates are awry. Constantine II was born in 316 and proclaimed Caesar in March 317; Constantius II was born in 317, and proclaimed Caesar in November 324; Constans was born in 320 (or 323) and proclaimed Caesar in December 333.

¹⁷³ I, 39: In SI/Soc: "The death of Constantine."

¹⁷⁴ 67: 65 in SI/Soc; but confusion in Armenian figures between 5 and 7 [*է, ի*] is exceedingly frequent; cf. p. 490: 25/27. The number is correct just below. Constantine died on 22 May, 337.

¹⁷⁵ Villa: or "suburb," *պրաստիւն*, as SI, from the Greek προύστειον [which is rendered by *դաստակերտ* on p. 639].

¹⁷⁶ He took a bath: *լուանայր զինքն*. It is noteworthy that SII omits the explicit statement in SI/Soc that Constantine received Christian baptism on this occasion. Perhaps the redactor did not wish to give the impression that only on his deathbed did the emperor officially become a Christian.

¹⁷⁷ To his sons... them: SII has altered the clear statement in SI/Soc that only Constantius was to receive the will and be informed. But on p. 117 (= II, 2) SII keeps the sense of Soc.

¹⁷⁸ I, 40: In SI/Soc: "The funeral of Constantine."

*with psalms and blessings and spiritual songs and thanksgiving*¹⁷⁹. It was placed in a *holy site near to the church of the Apostles*, which he himself had built, until the arrival of his son. The emperor Constantine lived 65 years and reigned for thirty-one years. He fell asleep on the twenty-second of the month of May. *With thanksgiving he was escorted in great honour and buried to the glory of the all-holy Trinity.*

¹⁷⁹ Psalms... thanksgiving: as Col. 3. 16.

[BOOK II]¹

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CHAPTER 31

*The actions and deeds of the Arians Eusebius and Theognis,
and efforts for the deposition of Athanasius*

[II, 2]² After the emperor's death the party of Eusebius and of Theognis, [117] finding it an opportune time, changed the faith of consubstantiality to that of Arius through the Arian priest who had been honoured by the emperor in his will for his son Constantius³, who reigned with his brothers. He began to suborn first the eunuchs and the relatives of the emperor; and he brought to Arianism the chief of the eunuchs, and through him the emperor's wife, and then the emperor himself. [118] In this way he sowed the tare of evil in the house of the emperor, and then in the city, and then in the country. It was like a small spark fanned into a blaze by an evil wind. Everywhere a war of discord was raised — in cities, and in provinces, and in homes in the eastern region [of the empire]. In the west there was peace in accordance with the faith of Nicaea.

[II, 3]⁴ In these [times] the party of Eusebius devised a false [accusation] so that they might be able to depose Athanasius on the charge of sin. [119] They suggested that his entrance into Alexandria occurred before a council had passed judgment in the presence of the emperor and judges. [120] But he held the throne again as he had desired. In this way they angered the emperor⁵.

¹ SII omits the Preface in which Soc gives his sources and the reasons for revising the first two Books.

² II, 2: In SI/Soc: "Eusebius of Nicomedia and his party create trouble."

³ In I, 39, SII had changed SI/Soc to include all three sons in the will. For his son: *πρῶτον* is grammatically unclear. SI reads *πρῶτον*: the priest handed the testament at the emperor's command to his son Constantius.

⁴ II, 3: In SI/Soc: "Letter of Constantine; return of Athanasius and banishment again."

⁵ SII omits the banishment of Athanasius once the emperor had been angered.

CHAPTER 32

Concerning the death of the bishop Eusebius Pamphilus, and the succession in his place of Acacius

[II, 4]⁶ Then Eusebius Pamphilus, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, died. Acacius, his disciple, succeeded to the throne. Among his writings he composed many discourses⁷, *as is clear to all*.

CHAPTER 33

How Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, departed this world and chose in his place Paul; but some wished for Macedonius

[II, 5]⁸ [121] After this the *elder* brother Constantine raised up war against his younger brother concerning his portion. Struck by the soldiers, Constans the younger *died by the sword*⁹.

[II, 6]¹⁰ And there was no little disturbance.

Then Alexander, the bishop of Constantinople, died, who had fought the good fight against Arius *through his prayers*. He had held the bishopric for 23 years *with orthodox faith in accordance with the council of Nicaea, and in an upright way of life, being notably victorious and holy, [122] to the glory and praise of God*. He was ninety-eight years old when he departed this world. He ordered Paul, ordained priest by himself, to be made his successor. He was young in years but old in mind *and [held] the right-minded faith of God*. But the persuasion of many was towards Macedonius, who was old in years *but not yet in opinions, in accordance with the error of Arius*, and a deacon. The people were divided into these two parties. Those of Arius said Macedonius should be [bishop]; while those of the orthodox party said that the choice of Alexander for Paul as *patriarch*¹¹ should be confirmed. [123] Thus Paul

⁶ II, 4: In SI/Soc: "Death of Eusebius and the election of Acacius at Caesarea."

⁷ SI/Soc indicate that Acacius composed many books and a Life of his teacher. These are lost and no trace exists in Armenian.

⁸ II, 5: In SI/Soc: "Death of Constantine."

⁹ The easy confusion of the three names in Armenian, which are often muddled by later scribes [see above, note to p. 112], has led to this confusion, since it was Constantine who was killed.

¹⁰ II, 6: In SI/Soc: "Death of bishop Alexander and the succession at Constantinople."

¹¹ Patriarch: Cf. above, p. 59, for this frequent change in SII for the "bishops" of CP, Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem.

was ordained to the bishopric¹² in Constantinople, *who more than Alexander showed pious practices in the churches of God in which he exercised control.*

[II, 7]¹³ Because the emperor had not been present at his consecration, the Arians made accusations and angered the emperor.

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CHAPTER 34

The council of bishops in Antioch at the emperor's command, who wished to promote the sect of Arianism, and condemned Athanasius

[II, 8]¹⁴ Because the emperor was in Antioch he¹⁵ ordered a council to be held in Antioch on the occasion of the dedication of *Saint Sophia*¹⁶, whose foundations his father had laid. Ten years after his death it was finished. Ninety bishops gathered — *not for the dedication of the church, but in order to change the consubstantial faith into Arianism, and so that those who were partisans of that sect might depose the patriarchs Athanasius of Alexandria and Paul of Constantinople.* When the bishop of Jerusalem learned of this, [125] he did not come to the council. Nor did Julius, bishop of great Rome, come to the council. It was not right for the council to be held without his permission, according to the canon of the orthodox.

Nonetheless, they condemned Athanasius, who had not come to the council, especially because he had returned to his throne [126] without the testimony of the council¹⁷.

¹² Bishopric: *վերակացութիւն*, "oversight," for *եպիսկոպոսութիւն* in SI. The noun *վերակացութիւն*, rendering Greek ἐπιστάτης, is very common in Armenian for "bishop." Cf. *վերաւեստութիւն*, e.g. p. 296.

¹³ II, 7: In SI/Soc: "The emperor deposes Paul." SII omits the council summoned by the emperor in CP, the deposition of Paul and the installation of Eusebius of Nicomedia.

¹⁴ II, 8: In SI/Soc: "The council at Antioch."

¹⁵ SII has changed SI/Soc, which indicate that "he" refers to Eusebius, who convened the council. "Because the emperor was in Antioch" belongs to the end of ch. 7.

¹⁶ Saint Sophia: The church, commonly known as the "Great Church," or the "Golden Basilica," is not named in SI/Soc. The name "Saint Sophia" perhaps slipped in because the redactor of SII saw in SI at the end of II, 6 a reference to the ordination of Paul in the church of Eirene, "which is close to the great Sophia," a passage which he omitted in his abbreviated version. See p. 44 for the Saint Sophia of CP.

¹⁷ SII returns to the end of ch. 8. II, 9, is omitted: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Eusebius of Emesa."

[II, 10]¹⁸ [The council] ordained George¹⁹ for Alexandria, but he was not received by them. [129] There was at that time a terrible world-war. A Frankish tribe made raids into the regions of Antioch.

[II, 11]²⁰ An *army* was summoned from Syria²¹ [in order] to confirm Gregory in the church at Alexandria, to arrest Athanasius, and take him to the council. When Athanasius heard of this, he ordered an evening service to be held, *so that the outcome of affairs might be arranged by God*. [130] While the congregation was [assembled] and the deacon was preaching, and with one voice they were chanting the “*Lord have mercy*.”²² *and the soldiers were guarding the doors*²³, he came out *through their midst*²⁴, lest there be a disturbance and the congregation harmed. No one was able to discern his departure, *save those whom he himself wished to take* to Rome to Julius, in order to show him the calamitous deeds which had been perpetrated.

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CHAPTER 35

Paul, the bishop of Constantinople, is deposed, and Macedonius seeks [election] by the choice of the Arians

[II, 12]²⁵ Then the council²⁶ *deposed* Paul, the bishop of Constantinople, and installed Macedonius as the choice of the Arians. There was no little disturbance in the city and the land, [132] and there was violent war in the cities.

¹⁸ II, 10: In SI/Soc: “Gregory is ordained for Alexandria.”

¹⁹ George: Sic! for Gregory. George, bishop of Laodicea, is mentioned in the omitted ch. 9. But here SII probably had in mind the George of Cappadocia who was later bishop of Alexandria; see II, 28. The addition in II, 26 shows confusion between these two Georges. Gregory is correctly named in ch. 11. SI, followed by SII, omits the two expositions of faith in ch. 10.

²⁰ II, 11: In SI/Soc: “Flight of Athanasius from Alexandria.”

²¹ An army from Syria: SII has changed SI, “a general from Syria,” which in turn misinterprets Soc, “the general [called] Syrianos.”

²² “Lord have mercy:” Ps. 40. 5. SI/Soc merely refer to “the psalm.”

²³ Soldiers... doors: Soc states that the soldiers remained inactive, ἀπόμαχοι, correctly rendered in SI as *συνδραστηῖς*.

²⁴ Cf. Lk. 4. 30.

²⁵ II, 12: In SI/Soc: “The election of Macedonius.”

²⁶ Council: This passage is confused because SII has run together the people, *θηροί*, of CP who *restored* Paul as bishop, and the council, *θηροίμνη*, to be held by Julius in Rome.

[II, 13]²⁷ *The emperor brought peace to the war against the Frankish nation by making a treaty, and himself returned to Constantinople*²⁸.

[133] He expelled Paul from the church and the city. He delayed expelling Macedonius because of the disagreement of the city, and also because of the fact that: "He was summoned without my permission."

[136] *In this way he left the church and the city without oversight*²⁹.

[II, 16]³⁰ He came to Antioch and wrote a letter confirming Macedonius in the bishopric in accordance with the summons. This order the eparch showed to Paul. On receiving it, *he went to Rome to the patriarch Julius*³¹. [137] When the eparch Philip received the emperor's command from the royal palace, he led Macedonius to the church with honour and a great mob. On hearing this, a numerous crowd gathered in the church where Macedonius was coming with the eparch and the mob; and there was a large multitude in the church. [138] Then terror seized Macedonius *that he would not enter the church without death*. Those with Macedonius, being frightened, resorted to their swords. Those who were killed were 3,150 people in the multitude of the throngs. Reckoning this no sin, he was installed on the throne by the eparch, *and by various bishops and clergy of the holy churches*.

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CHAPTER 36

How Arianism was inclined to increase and led to the condemnation of Athanasius

[II, 17]³² Arianism now increased, and the Arians did not cease their accusations against Athanasius; *for they thought that if they were victorious over him, through him they would vanquish all the orthodox*. So they

²⁷ II, 13: "Paul is again expelled."

²⁸ SII has run together Constans making a treaty with the Franks, and Constantius returning to CP from Antioch. They are clearly distinguished in SI/Soc.

²⁹ SII omits ch. 14: "Gregory is ejected and George made bishop of Alexandria." Ch. 15 is also omitted save for a brief reference, see n. 31 below. Oversight: see n. 12 above for *ἐπιρωμαγνητικὸν* as "bishopric."

³⁰ II, 16: In SI/Soc: "The installation of Macedonius."

³¹ This clause is out of place. In ch. 15 SI/Soc indicate that Athanasius and Paul went to Rome and returned with letters from Julius restoring them to their sees, *before* the events of ch. 16.

³² II, 17: In SI/Soc: "Another charge against Athanasius, who goes to Rome."

made these insinuations to the emperor: Athanasius has sold the corn which is stored in Alexandria at your father's command for distribution to the needy, and having collected much money, [140] he does what he wishes. Being even more angered at these [charges], he threatened Athanasius, *the man of God*, with death.

Julius was informed of all this *by Athanasius and Paul*³³ — the error of the Arians and the condemnation by his opponents for envy of Athanasius, *who preached the orthodox faith of the holy council and the canonical definition*³⁴.

[II, 18]³⁵ He³⁶ wrote to the emperor of the west and informed him of the perversion of the faith [141] and the condemnation and deposition of the holy men Athanasius and Paul, *who were preachers of the holy faith; but the councils of Antioch were not to be accepted, or the errors of the Arians which had been conjoined to them. He wrote this down accurately, [142] and despatched it through a reliable man*³⁷. And Paul wished to go to the emperor following the letter.

When the emperor saw Paul, he received him with honour. He heard everything from him and believed him, *as also the letter of Julius*. He wrote to his brother, the emperor of the east, *not to receive the opponents of the preachers of the true religion — I mean of Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, and of Paul, bishop of Constantinople, and those similar to these of orthodox persuasion, who confess the canonical definition of the council of Nicaea; [143] and not [to accept] the condemnation of these by the Arian schismatics, "which if you investigate accurately, you will find to be false, as I did. And you should restore them to the sees to which each has been summoned by the Lord."*

*When the emperor of the east read this, doubts entered his thoughts; [144] but he did nothing, to avoid disturbance and further confusion*³⁸.

³³ SI/Soc do not indicate who informed Julius.

³⁴ See above, p. 39, for the canonical definition of Nicaea, which SII consistently stresses.

³⁵ In SI/Soc: "Constans writes to Constantius."

³⁶ He: not Julius, but Constantius. At the end of ch. 17 Athanasius and Paul had written to him, but this is omitted in SII.

³⁷ Reliable man: SI/Soc do not refer to the bearer of the letter. SII changes the gist of this letter, which in SI/Soc is credal in form.

³⁸ SII omits ch. 19: "The creed sent to the western bishops by those of the east."

CHAPTER 37

Concerning the council of Sardica; and the return of Athanasius and Paul to their places

[II, 20]³⁹ Then the two emperors decided to convene a council so that they might investigate the question between them. This was the eleventh year after the death of Constantine⁴⁰. [145] There gathered in the city of Sardica, from the west three hundred [bishops], and from the east seventy-six. And because all the eastern ones did not come to the council, they made various excuses. Those who did come said: "It is not right for Athanasius and Paul to come to this council." And since they were persuaded [146] because of the disturbance, Athanasius and Paul did not come to the council.

The council of the east went to Philippopolis and did not openly confess the profession [of faith] according to Nicaea. By letter they indicated to the western council at Sardica that their opinion was not consistent with the faith. But those who were right-minded in the faith preserved the definition of the council of Nicaea, *which is preached in the church of God*. They confirmed the same in writing and verbally to those distant and there [in the west] to receive Athanasius and Paul and those who, like them, had been deposed in each one's region. [148] And those deposed by them, whether some by pretense or those legally in accordance with the choice of all, confirmed the same faith and canonical definition⁴¹.

[II, 22]⁴² They scattered to each one's city; and some did not preach thus, but confusedly in various places. [149] The western emperor wrote to his brother confirming the faith of the council of Sardica and the worthy [bishops], so that Athanasius and Paul and those deposed like them, *who would not seem superfluous*⁴³, should return to their sees, [150] "lest there be enmity between our fraternities." But Constantius did not wish to undertake this or to do these things.

³⁹ II, 20: In SI/Soc: "The councils of Sardica and Philippopolis."

⁴⁰ I.e. in 347. But Hansen, note ad loc., indicates that the actual date was 342 or 343.

⁴¹ This sentence is based on the reference to Marcellus of Ancyra in SI/Soc. SII omits ch. 21: "Socrates refutes opponents of Eusebius Pamphilus."

⁴² II, 22: In SI/Soc: "Constans writes to Constantius."

⁴³ Who... superfluous: The sense of *որք ոչ վարկապարտադի թուիցեն*, which seems to refer to the deposed bishops, is unclear. There is no comparable phrase in SI.

[II, 23]⁴⁴ Summoning a council of the eastern bishops [Constantius] informed them of what his brother had said. But they thought it better to prevent war between the two brother emperors than to disregard the wish of the western council. Then the emperor was persuaded by this, and he wrote to Athanasius and summoned him to his presence. But he, suspicious of his calumniators, did not come. [151] Once more a second time he wrote and allayed his doubts *with an oath*. When Julius saw these letters, he persuaded him to go; and they supposed that he had come to the right faith⁴⁵.

[152] Consequently Athanasius came to Constantinople to the emperor, *accompanied by Paul who had likewise been summoned by the emperor by letters. Great mourning fell on the Arians*⁴⁶. The emperor did not receive them in a quarrelsome mood, but wisely. "According to the choice of the council, he said, take your sees, at the wish of my brother and with my permission. Let there be peace. Because there are some in Alexandria who scruple to have communion with you, Athanasius, you will allow them one church where they may celebrate their own services." [153] This he said at the advice of the Arians. Athanasius said: "You have the power, O emperor, to do whatever you wish. Who might I be to contradict you? *Being outside communion with them, I shall carry out your command.*"

Then he received a command from the emperor to go to his own place; and all the cities were to receive him with respect and honour as one worthy. He ordered Paul to go and occupy his own see. However, Macedonius was at first distrustful of Paul; his own gathering took place in a certain church. *And he continually preserved his deceit*. Concerning Athanasius the emperor wrote to the bishops, clergy, and all the people to receive Athanasius⁴⁷. [154] *And he ordered the letters of opposition and treachery to be burned.*

[II, 24] Trusting in these, [Athanasius] made his way through Syria and Palestine. He reached Jerusalem and described the council at Sardica to *Maximianos*⁴⁸, the bishop of Jerusalem, [155] and how the wishes of the *emperors*⁴⁹ [had been carried out] in accordance with the council of

⁴⁴ II, 23: In SI/Soc: "Constantius recalls Athanasius."

⁴⁵ SII omits the texts of the letters: three from Constantius to Athanasius, and one from Julius.

⁴⁶ But according to Soc Paul had gone to CP earlier.

⁴⁷ Soc quotes three letters, which are omitted in SI and thus also in SII.

⁴⁸ Maximianos: Sic! Maximos in SI/Soc.

⁴⁹ Emperors: singular in SI/Soc.

Sardica. *He rejoiced at the return of Athanasius.* He held a council and received him with great honour. He sent off Athanasius with letters to Egypt and Alexandria to receive him. Wherever the holy one of God passed, he admonished and instructed concerning the *orthodox*⁵⁰ faith and a temperate life and righteousness. [156] He performed ordinations and restored the church which had been ruined and profaned by the Arians.

[II, 25]⁵¹ About that time a certain soldier⁵² rebelled against the emperor of the west *at the instigation of his brother*, and killed him. He ruled himself over the empire, and there was much shedding of blood.

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CHAPTER 38

*By the deceit of the Arians they strangle Paul, bishop of Constantinople, in exile, and wish to slay Athanasius and Theodore and Lucius*⁵³

[II, 26]⁵⁴ Following these events, four years after the council of Sardica it seemed to all that Constantius was ruling as autocrat⁵⁵ [and] emperor over his father's empire. Through *the falsity of the Evil One*⁵⁶ and the deceit of the Arians, in opposition to the faith he set his own wickedness in motion, having been unwillingly persuaded concerning Paul and Athanasius. [159] First he ordered Paul, the *patriarch*⁵⁷ of Constantinople, to be exiled. He was taken to Kukusos⁵⁸ and strangled, *who by his upright faith and his holy life received the crown of victory.* As for Athanasius, [160] the Arians so embellished their treachery for the emperor, that it was commanded he be killed wherever he might be found, and with him Theodulos and Olympios, prelates of the holy church.

⁵⁰ Orthodox: ὁμοούσιον in SI/Soc.

⁵¹ II, 25: In SI/Soc: "Constans is killed by Magnentius."

⁵² As often, SII omits the name [Magnentius].

⁵³ The reference to Theodore and Lucius is puzzling. Lucius was an Arian, p. 233, and neither person is mentioned here in the text.

⁵⁴ II, 26: In SI/Soc: "Paul and Athanasius are again exiled; Paul is killed."

⁵⁵ Autocrat: *ἡγεμῶν*, as SI; for the word see above, Bk. I, n. 11. Emperor: lit. "king."

⁵⁶ See the Introduction, 22, for similar additions.

⁵⁷ Patriarch: for "bishop;" see p. 59.

⁵⁸ Kukusos: Soc adds "of Armenia," which SI changes to "of Cappadocia."

Learning of this, *they*⁵⁹ fled from the emperor's threats in advance. *George took the church*⁶⁰, *who had previously been ordained bishop of Laodicaea by the Arians*. While he was a priest he had been excommunicated for fornication. [161] *He was an insolent man, and always planning opposition to the saints*.

[II, 27]⁶¹ Then Macedonius received license and authority from the emperor. After the violent death of Paul he led him to Arianism, and brought no few afflictions on the churches of God — more than the idolatrous persecutors had demonstrated. Thus they inflicted torture on the orthodox and the seizure of possessions; many they exiled, and large numbers they put to death with military cooperation. [162] These were the misfortunes in the eastern regions, and even more in Constantinople. But the region of the west kept firm the faith of Nicaea and its *canonical definition*⁶².

CHAPTER 39

How George, the Arian bishop, inflicted many evils on the saints of God in the city of Alexandria

[II, 28]⁶³ George demonstrated even worse evils at Alexandria, [163] *receiving liberty from the emperor at the advice of Macedonius*. And the congregation in the holy church of God sought a visitation from the Lord. The soldiers surrounded the church; and they bound the bishops whom they found, and also the priests inside and the dedicated virgins. Men and women they threw into prison for painful beatings. *They forced them to abandon the right faith and to adopt Arianism*. Lighting a fire, they put the virgins *on*⁶⁴ the fire and forced them to accept Arianism. When they saw them to be victorious in the faith, they were beaten and inflicted with various cruel torments. [164] Some died, and others were wounded in their limbs. *There was no mercy, but impiety surged like a flood*⁶⁵, [as] they imagined they would obliterate the right faith.

⁵⁹ They: SI/Soc only refer to Athanasius here.

⁶⁰ This George of Laodicea is to be distinguished from the George who became bishop of Alexandria. For that George's activity in Alexandria see ch. 28 below.

⁶¹ II, 27: In SI/Soc: "Macedonius's activity as bishop of CP."

⁶² Canonical definition: SI/Soc refer simply to "the canon of the synod of Nicaea."

⁶³ II, 28: In SI/Soc: "George's violence in Alexandria."

⁶⁴ On: "beside" in SI/Soc.

⁶⁵ Flood of impiety: Sin and impiety as waters or seas is a theme stressed in the *Teaching*, §553-559, and echoed in Aa, §10.

The bishops whom they seized were more than thirty. These they cruelly sent *to the mines*⁶⁶, but all indeed died on the way.

It happened that after Pentecost the believing congregations, having fasted on Saturday, gathered at the cemetery *of the holy evangelist Mark*⁶⁷ and of the other patriarchs in prayer to seek a visitation from the Lord their God through their intercession, to keep vigil that night until dawn on Sunday in prayer to God.

[165] When the most wicked George heard this, he provided the general, a Manichaeon, with soldiers in order to put those gathered in the cemeteries to death. Arriving at that place in the morning, they did not find them, since by the providence of God they had left, [166] save a few whom they struck and wounded. *In this fashion the evil one waged war on the saints.*

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CHAPTER 40

The emperor Constantius makes his nephew Gallus Caesar. The holy cross appears in the eastern regions

Around those times the emperor made his *nephew*⁶⁸ Gallus Caesar, giving him his family name, and sent him to the eastern region to administer the country. When he arrived [at Jerusalem], the sign of the holy cross appeared in the east, like a column of light in the form of a cross. This astonished and amazed the whole land as to what new and wonderful vision it might be. The emperor sent a general and an army [168] against the tyrant Magnentius in war; while he himself remained in Sirmium to see [the outcome of] the contest.

⁶⁶ To the mines: "into exile" in SI/Soc. This passage is at the end of the description of persecution in SI/Soc. For the "mines" see p. 39.

⁶⁷ Cf. p. 41 for the addition of references to the evangelist Mark.

⁶⁸ Nephew: *եղբայրորդի*, as SI. But Soc indicates that Gallus was a cousin, *ἀνέψιτος*, of Constantius. He was the son of Dalmatius, a brother of Constantine's, and thus *Constantine's* nephew.

CHAPTER 41

Photinus, disciple of Marcellus, teaches new errors. A council is held; he and those of his party are anathematised

[II, 29]⁶⁹ Then the emperor heard about Photinus, a disciple of Marcellus, who taught a new error. *He, who was a prelate of the church, said that Christ was a mere man*⁷⁰. [169] He⁷¹ convened a council of bishops. They assembled and anathematised Photinus and the late teacher of that sect, Marcellus, and also Sabellius of Libya and Paul of Samosata. This they all *blamed*⁷² as well done and right.

[II, 30]⁷³ But concerning the faith they did not hand down a right confession, as their own words indicate, pronounced in the Greek tongue and in Latin⁷⁴.

[II, 32]⁷⁵ [172] When Magnentius reached Rome he put to death the senate and many others. But the emperor's army in pursuit with a host of Romans expelled him. After many battles and sieges of castles and fortresses, [173] Magnentius was unable to prevail or resist. He fled a three days' journey to where his family were, and killed his brother who had been named Caesar, and his mother. Then he killed himself lest he be tortured to death by them. His other brother committed suicide by hanging. [174] After this the west gained peace in subjection⁷⁶.

[II, 33]⁷⁷ Again in the east war was provoked by the Jews against Gallus, whom the emperor had named Caesar. He sent a numerous army, and ordered him to destroy *many cities* of the rebels⁷⁸.

[II, 34]⁷⁹ They killed the conspirators against the emperor, [175] and Gallus among them⁸⁰. And the emperor appointed the latter's brother Julian to the same rank of Caesar.

⁶⁹ II, 29: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Photinus."

⁷⁰ See VII, 32, p. 654, for this heresy.

⁷¹ He: i.e. the emperor; SII omits reference to Sirmium as the site of the council.

⁷² Blamed: *ἠποδοκίμησεν*, for the *ἠποδοκίμησεν*, "praised," of SI and Soc; *ἠ* and *ἠ* are easily confused.

⁷³ II, 30: In SI/Soc: "The creeds of Sirmium." SI omits the texts of the creeds, followed by SII.

⁷⁴ SII omits ch. 31: "Concerning Hosius of Cordova."

⁷⁵ II, 32: In SI/Soc: "The defeat of Magnentius."

⁷⁶ Soc had not named the general who defeated Magnentius, so SII has no name to provide after "in subjection [to]."

⁷⁷ II, 33: In SI/Soc: "Rebellion of the Jews in Diocaesarea."

⁷⁸ Many cities: SII omits the name [of the single city], Diocaesarea.

⁷⁹ II, 34: In SI/Soc: "The death of Gallus."

⁸⁰ This abbreviation fails to indicate that after putting down the rebels Gallus had presumptuous designs on the supreme power, for which he was put to death.

CHAPTER 42

Constantius stirs up war on the church

Constantius, relieved of secular wars, provoked war on the church. He ordered a council of bishops from the west and from the east [to he held], and he himself went to Rome. [176] Then the bishop of Rome died in his fifteenth year⁸¹, and as his successor Liberius was nominated. [II, 35]⁸² Now Aetius of Antioch held the opinion of Arius; but he was separated from them because he was a contentious man. He called himself a philosopher. [177] But he was not one because he had not learned from a real philosopher; and he perverted the people. Some, then [known as] *Arians*⁸³, are now called Eunomians. For after some time he⁸⁴ taught his contradictions and put them in writing. [II, 36]⁸⁵ [178] The emperor ordered the council of the western [bishops] to be held in the city of Milan, and [those] of the east to come to them, who were *ninety* in number⁸⁶. First of all they proposed the return of Athanasius, and said his condemnation was unjust. [II, 37]⁸⁷ [179] He ordered those who said this to be exiled *to the mines*. For his concern was to unite them all *in the sect of Arius*. However, he did not openly show himself an Arian, but acted by subterfuge. [180] He honoured whoever was of that sect, but dishonoured whoever belonged to orthodoxy. Many he exiled by royal command. And in this way they were cast into confusion. [181] He was not able to bring [things] into effect as he had planned, but everywhere there was struggle and opposition. He could not turn the councils to his wishes, yet he did not cease from pursuing his hopes. It is too long for this occasion to describe the wranglings of bishops and

⁸¹ I.e. Julius, pope 337 to 352.

⁸² II, 35: In SI/Soc: "Aetius and his opinions." But SII omits all the details about Aristotle's philosophy.

⁸³ Arians: Sic! SI/Soc read "Aetians."

⁸⁴ He: Soc makes it clear that this is Eunomius, former secretary of Aetius, who became head of that group. For the writings see IV, 7, much abbreviated in SII.

⁸⁵ II, 36: In SI/Soc: "The council at Milan."

⁸⁶ Ninety: SI/Soc state that there were three hundred bishops from the west, but "not very many" from the east. The number 90 does not appear in Soc except for the ninety bishops at the council of Antioch, II, 8.

⁸⁷ II, 37: In SI/Soc: "The council at Rimini." SI does not contain the creed or other documents in this chapter, hence they are also omitted in SII.

the debates of the congregations concerning the faith, the error of Arius [184] and the *pneumatomachism*⁸⁸ of Macedonius.

For the Arians said the Son was created, not of the nature of the Father but coming into being after some time; and the Father was greater than the Son, and the Spirit less; each successively more humble than the Father and the Godhead. For although the holy council of Nicaea had anathematised and exiled Arius, and he had furthermore received punishment, yet the seed of the Evil One⁸⁹ did not cease to pervert the right faith through the emperor who had been vanquished by the Arian priest.

[II, 38]⁹⁰ [185] Those who were Arians took confidence against the orthodox. They exiled Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem, and appointed Cyril as bishop in his place⁹¹. But I must explain the many reasons [why] they also exiled some and appointed others as bishops in their place through the emperor.

CHAPTER 43

Concerning bishop Macedonius [who] had authority among the saints of God, and his death

Now Macedonius, a fighter against the Spirit and against God, was summoned from the diaconate to the bishopric of Constantinople [186] in opposition to Paul, who had been chosen by the blessed Alexander⁹². He demonstrated many evil deeds in Constantinople and in the nearby country and in the cities. Many of the notables who did not wish to communicate with him were arrested and tortured⁹³. [187] After torments they forcibly opened their mouths with a piece of wood, and gave them communion; they thought this worse than the tortures. He ordered the women [to be given] to the soldiers for foul deeds⁹⁴. Those who resisted

⁸⁸ Pneumatomachism: *ζηλοδυσωρονισθην*, "fighting against the Spirit." It is discussed in detail by Soc in II, 45, but SII omits that chapter. SII frequently refers to Macedonius and Arians as "fighters against the Spirit" where SI/Soc have no such epithet.

⁸⁹ The Evil One: *ζαριην*, or "of evil." For such references to Satan see the Introduction, 21-22.

⁹⁰ II, 38: In SI/Soc: "Persecutions of Macedonius."

⁹¹ In 350 or 351.

⁹² For the early career of Macedonius see above, II, 6, 12.

⁹³ SII omits the reference in SI/Soc to Novatians, who were the objects of this violence.

⁹⁴ For foul deeds: *αηδουθην*. In SI: "they forced the women and children *αηδελ*, "to commit foul deeds." But Soc is referring to forced baptism, not immoral acts; see Lampe, s.v. *μυεω*.

were beaten. They cut off the breasts of some; on others they inflicted other cruel torments.

It was his aim to make them all participate in *fighting against God*⁹⁵, and he inflicted torments worse than those of heathens. He fashioned instruments of torture in fire and sword and wood. Macedonius did not cease from [using] savage force [191] *or from fighting against God* — save that God did not leave him without vengeance.

There was a cemetery of the emperor Constantine in which lay his coffin, and there was concern that the monument might fall on to the coffin. Now Macedonius wished to transfer the coffin to another place. But those who were confessors of consubstantiality did not think it right to do that. However, he despised them, and with his own [supporters] did what he wanted. A great struggle took place in the crowd, and so many were killed that the courtyard⁹⁶ of the church was filled with the blood of those slain. [192] When the emperor heard this, he was angered against him as against one condemned to death, because he had moved the coffin without his [permission].

He sent to depose Macedonius from his see and to expel him as one condemned and worthy of death⁹⁷.

[194] *He, afflicted by emaciation, fell into a mortal illness and died a painful death*⁹⁸. *Everyone said: "It is God who judged him on earth."* *But he left the seed of wicked fighting against the Spirit among his partisans of impiety.*

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CHAPTER 44

The number of the special councils is indicated, how many they were

[II, 41]⁹⁹ It is necessary to state the number of the *councils*¹⁰⁰. [203] *After the holy council of Nicaea, which according to them did not fully*

⁹⁵ Fighting against God: *μαχηθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ*. The base form, "fighter against God [as Acts 5. 39]," is used of the Persians by Etišē, 87.

⁹⁶ Courtyard: *μαχηθῆναι* in SI and SII, which could also mean "narthex," for the ἀλλή of Soc.

⁹⁷ This sentence is misplaced from ch. 42. SII omits chs. 39, 40: The council of Seleucia Trachaea; Acacius and his party at Seleucia.

⁹⁸ Painful death: Si/Soc do not describe the death of Macedonius; cf. the painful deaths of Arius, 109-10 above, or of Vasak in Etišē, 139.

⁹⁹ II, 41: In SI/Soc: "The Acacians in CP and their creed."

¹⁰⁰ Councils: SII has changed the "creeds" of SI, *ἡ ἑκείνου ἡ πίστις*, and Soc. But see three lines below for "statements of faith."

define the faith and its canon¹⁰¹, at the dedication of [the church of] Antioch they set down two statements of faith. Then a third in Gaul, the council [summoned] by Constans, *restored Athanasius and Paul*¹⁰², by those who are of the opinion of Narcissus. The fourth [was that] of Eudoxius, which was sent to Italy [to] the council [summoned] by the emperor. At Sirmium the council set out three [statements], of which one was read at Rimini. At Seleucia those of the party of Acacius proposed the eighth [statement of] faith. The ninth was at Constantinople, which was read with an addition included in it. They did not truly confess being or substance¹⁰³ with regard to *the Son and the holy Spirit*¹⁰⁴.

[II, 42]¹⁰⁵ [204] But they anathematised Macedonius as being guilty of many deaths, and because he did not depose a deacon found in fornication — *of whose death we have spoken above*¹⁰⁶.

[II, 43]¹⁰⁷ [205] There was a council at Gangra regarding Eustathius, who prohibited marriage and said eating meat was impure, and who excommunicated many [206] of *the meat-eaters* and those legally married. He let the churches celebrate communion in houses; and separated servants from their masters on the pretext of piety; and had women's hair cut; and [prescribed] fasting on the Lord's day; and did not allow prayer in the houses of married people; and abhorred a priest who had a wife as impure. [207] *He caused the council to be held*¹⁰⁸. They assembled and anathematised Eustathius and ordained Meletius for the church of Antioch¹⁰⁹, [208] who taught the traditional¹¹⁰ teaching *in accordance with a pious life*.

[II, 44]¹¹¹ The statement of faith he did not pervert to the faith of any other council, but he confessed the faith of Nicaea.

¹⁰¹ See p. 39 for the "canonical definition," consistently stressed by SII.

¹⁰² Cf. ch. 21 above.

¹⁰³ Being, substance: *էութիւն, գոյութիւն*, as SI. The first is the standard Armenian term for οὐσία; but ὑπόστασις is more usually rendered by *զարմութիւն*, which has the wider meaning of "power." For such technical expressions in Armenian see the Introduction to Thomson, *Teaching of Saint Gregory*, Tallon, *Livre*, and Winkler, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*. Note the emphasis on the Holy Spirit; cf. Introduction, 23.

¹⁰⁴ SII has changed the "God" of SI/Soc.

¹⁰⁵ II, 42: "The deposition of Macedonius."

¹⁰⁶ See the addition in SII at p. 192.

¹⁰⁷ II, 43: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Eustathius of Sebaste."

¹⁰⁸ He... held: The sense of *գժողովն արինադրէր* is not clear.

¹⁰⁹ The abbreviation in SII has caused confusion. In II, 43 Meletius replaces Eustathius in Sebaste. Ch. 44 describes the career of Meletius, who *later* becomes bishop of Antioch.

¹¹⁰ Traditional: *սովորական*, as SI, for the ἠθικὴν, "moral," of Soc.

[209] When the emperor heard this, he sent [orders] for him to be exiled. *But those who were disciples of the truth were not deflected by anyone from his luminous teaching.* [214] Then the emperor *Constantius* came to Antioch. In his place he substituted another who adhered to the sect of Arius¹¹².

[II, 47]¹¹³ As soon as news reached him about Julian Caesar — who had been victorious in his war against many barbarians, and through this victory had been proclaimed [emperor] by everyone — he made great efforts and went to war against him. Between Cappadocia and Cilicia death befell him; [215] he finished his life *not in orthodoxy*. He was forty-seven¹¹⁴ years of age, and had reigned for thirty-eight, in the 285th Olympiad. *He died not piously like his father Constantine the autocrator [and] emperor.* In this way he died, on the third of the month of November.

¹¹¹ II, 44: In SI/Soc: "Meletius becomes bishop of Antioch."

¹¹² SII omits chs. 45, 46 [The heresy of Macedonius; concerning the Apollinarians] in keeping with the redactor's general avoidance of technical theological matters. At p. 260, however, SII does add a summary of Apollinarianism.

¹¹³ II, 47: In SI/Soc: "Death of Constantius."

¹¹⁴ 47: 45 in SI/Soc. For the easy confusion between 5 and 7 in Armenian figures see above, p. 112. Constantius died in 361.

[BOOK III]

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CHAPTER 45

How Julian reigned, and his actions

[III, 1]¹ When Julian heard of his death, he immediately went to Constantinople; on entering he began his reign. He *proclaimed himself*² as autocrator of the world. Therefore it is necessary to describe his lineage.

[218] The great Constantine who had built Byzantium called it Constantinople after his own name. He had two brothers from the same father, but not from his own mother. One was called Dalmatius, who after the building of Constantinople was killed by his soldiers *for some reason*³.

[219] His two sons, Gallus and Julian, remained orphans. These children the emperor took and raised. Julian was eight years old when he put him to study with teachers of the Christian arts under the instruction of eunuchs. Following other studies Julian learned grammar, and he was on his guard against heathen sects, living a Christian life.

Being in awe of the emperor, he observed Christianity. [220] However, secretly he studied and learned rhetoric and philosophy from Libanius, who observed pagan sects. Julian, having become famous in the arts of philosophy, in orations and letters, not willingly but from fear of the emperor, observed Christianity.

[221] When the emperor knew this, *he expelled the counsellors of the evil one; and threats were made about it*⁴. But Julian, acting deceptively by the emperor's command, adopted a guise of piety. He became a reader of *scripture*⁵ of the church, continuously reading [scripture] and demonstrating that he was continually living a truly Christian life. On seeing this the emperor restrained his threats. Nonetheless, secretly he did not abandon the wicked and foolish sects and the teachings of vain philosophy. [222] His brother Gallus, having been made Caesar by the son of Constantine the Great after his death, was killed, as we explained

¹ III, 1: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Julian." SII has somewhat altered the order of events in this long chapter.

² Proclaimed himself: passive in SI/Soc.

³ Soc merely says that Dalmatius was killed by the troops. Cf. also II, 25 for his murder [omitted in SI].

⁴ About it: *ἡ φιλῆρας ὑπὸν*, or perhaps "against him [Julian]."

⁵ Reader of scripture: *ἡρακλαρρηγῶν*. SI renders the ἀναγνώστης of Soc literally by *ῥήθῆρῶν*. Cf. Elišē, 113, where *ἡρακλαρρηγῶν* comes after "singers of psalms" in hierarchical order. There are frequent references in the canons to this office; see Thomson, *Eliše*, note ad loc.

the reasons above⁶. He ordered Julian to be guarded. But he escaped from the guards, and by moving from place to place survived.

He came to the emperor's wife, whose name was Eusebia, and made her his intercessor. She hid him and begged the emperor not to do him any harm for his brother's sake, but to receive him kindly and to put him in the place of the one killed. After many supplications he agreed to act according to his wife's wishes. Then she introduced him; he received him kindly, gave him his own sister in marriage, and made him Caesar. He sent him to the west against the barbarians, *unaware of his duplicity*. [223] Because Julian was a youth, he ordered him to do nothing without his permission or that of those whom he had appointed as advisors to him. However, he followed his own wishes, but treated the emperor and everyone with blandishments until he became emperor.

[225] After the death of the emperor he came to Constantinople, as we said; and there by art and trickery he made them all his own [supporters]. [226] Because he knew that Constantius was hated by the whole people⁷, those who had been exiled from their churches he restored to each one's place.

But he was eager that the temples be opened and pagan sacrifices be made as people might wish. So he gave to believers and unbelievers liberty to carry out each one's cult and not prevent anyone else. Some he deceived by trickery, others he promoted through vainglory; at first he appeared benevolent to everyone, but at the end he was devoted to evil.

This was the mode of his perfidy. He appointed everyone whom he had in his service. [227] First the eastern affairs of Constantius he entrusted to others, and he persuaded the exiled bishops to return to each one's place. He restored confiscated possessions to their owners, and ordered the temples of the heathens to be opened with pomp. He gave back the things seized by the eunuchs, and killed Eusebius, *the chief of the eunuchs and of the kitchen*⁸, not only for other things but because his brother Gallus had been put to death by his treachery. *He was the instigator of Arianism in the household of the emperor, whom he had tricked through the Arian priest*⁹. And he honoured the body of the emperor Constantine the Great¹⁰.

⁶ I.e. conspiracy; see II, 34, p. 174.

⁷ People: *ժողով*, plural in SI.

⁸ Chief... kitchen: *զաւազ ներքինեացն անաթոյն*, but *զաւազ թագաւորական աթանոցն*, "chief of the royal bed-chamber," in SI, as Soc.

⁹ See II, 2, for Eusebius and the Arian priest.

¹⁰ Constantine the Great: Sic! Constantius in SI/Soc.

[228] He left his own wife and did not take another. He expelled the eunuchs from the palace and all of the servants from the royal household. He abolished all taxes¹¹ for the emperor's family and horses, mules, donkeys, oxen, and sheep; and [provided] only for the care of the royal horses. A few praised these [actions] of his, but many blamed him *as seeming to despise such superfluous things*¹².

Julian increased his personal vanity [229] by composing orations in praise of the former emperors who had preceded him, and he entitled [the book] "The Caesars." Moved by such a habit, he also composed orations against Christians, and he attempted to alter what had been correctly stated into laughter and ridicule. Such was his *idolatrous conduct*¹³ with regard to the Christians. Not with authority and like an emperor did he conduct persecutions against the Christians, but by enticements he snatched the flatterer to himself from among the simple-minded and the easily-persuaded. In this way he worked deceit and ensnared people to destruction, and in this fashion he planned to remove Christianity through his arts.

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CHAPTER 46

Concerning the disturbance in Alexandria; and George the Arian, who occupied the place of Athanasius, for some reason was seized and burned alive

[III, 2]¹⁴ In these [times] there was a disturbance in Alexandria for the following reason. A temple in a certain place had been destroyed, where George the Arian, who occupied the place of Athanasius, wished to build a church to the saints. [231] They dug the site and found deep [pits] and within the skulls of men and children according to heathen sects. These they showed to the heathens and ridiculed and mocked them. They could not endure the insults, and rose up in anger against the Christians with swords and sticks and stones. They killed many of the

¹¹ Taxes: *ζυρῆς*, as SI. The term is ambiguous, as it could mean "duties, impositions." The reference in Soc is to the public transport system.

¹² Seeming... things: SI/Soc state that Julian was blamed for the loss of revenue and for bringing scorn upon his rule.

¹³ Idolatrous conduct: *ἰδωλολατρία*, lit. "model of idols," not in SI.

¹⁴ III, 2: In SI/Soc: "The death of George at Alexandria."

Arians who were with George. [232] Dragging out George, they bound him and burned him alive. *This everyone said was vengeance from God¹⁵, so that they might destroy the evil one cruelly without harming the just. For no few evils did George bring upon Alexandria.*

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CHAPTER 47

The return of Athanasius from persecution to his own place in Alexandria, and the exile of the Arians

[III, 3]¹⁶ When the emperor Julian heard of this, he wrote a threatening letter¹⁷ and calmed the outbreak. *In unison the Alexandrians sought from the emperor the restoration of the holy man of God Athanasius to his place. Agreeing to this he restored Athanasius and all the exiles to their places¹⁸.*

[III, 4]¹⁹ So saint Athanasius returned from his persecutions to his place, and the Arians were expelled from the churches. The congregations and places of prayer were subject to him. But the Arians ordained Lucius as their head in place of George.

[III, 5-10 omitted]²⁰

[234] *But Athanasius with his peace-loving teaching advised and taught a life of virtue, and confirmed them in faith in the Father and Son and holy Spirit. And he purified his faith from the foolish sects of Arius and the Pneumatomachoi, to the glory and praise of the all-holy Trinity.*

All those who had been exiled confirmed their various churches in the faith; and from the holy scriptures, the Old and the New, silenced their opponents — Arius and the Pneumatomachoi, and the Sabellians, and the Paulians, and Photinians, and Manichaeans, and Apollinarians. And the errors of the heretics and other phantasies²¹ the opponents of the truth ordained into various sects.

¹⁵ Cf. Jer. 50. 15.

¹⁶ III, 3: In SI/Soc: "The emperor writes to the Alexandrians."

¹⁷ The text of the letter is omitted in SI, and hence also in SII.

¹⁸ SI/Soc do not describe the circumstances of Athanasius's return.

¹⁹ III, 4: In SI/Soc: "The return of Athanasius."

²⁰ III, 5-10: In SI/Soc: ch. 5: concerning Lucifer and Eusebius of Vercell; ch. 6: Lucifer goes to Antioch; ch. 7: Council in Alexandria; ch. 8: Extracts from Athanasius's *Apology for his Flight*; ch. 9: Schism in Antioch; ch. 10: concerning Hilary of Poitiers.

²¹ Other phantasies: the meaning of *յայլմէ երեւմանց* is unclear.

[235] *Against all these the most necessary and blessed [is] the blessed Athanasius [sent] by God, who preached the same statement of faith to those nearby, in accordance with the holy council of Nicaea and the canonical definition. The same too he set in writing, not instigated by anyone or perverted by opponents; but he remained firm and immovable on the foundation of the tradition of the apostles and prophets.*

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CHAPTER 48

The declaration [of faith] of Saint Athanasius²²

He declared his profession in the following way before all in writing in accordance with the pronouncement of the council, which the universal churches of the orthodox continually proclaim.

The Father without beginning, omnipotent and eternal, creator of heaven and earth and of the creatures in them. And the Son born from the Father and not created, co-creator with the Father and co-eternal, not in time, and incorporeally from the same nature and not introduced from elsewhere. And through him everything came into being.

[237] *The holy Spirit from their essence, appearing [as] light from light, which illuminates the creatures with light, knowledge and grace. [He] disposes like a source the gifts, is not introduced from elsewhere but proceeds from the Father and is revealed by the Son. One Godhead made visible in three, and [as] individuality remaining immovable, glorified [as] perfect Trinity and one Godhead.*

[238] *Concerning the incarnation of the Son of God, the Word is the subject of investigation, which is made visible from the Father ineffably and incorporeally. The same is without seed from the Virgin, and mingles the unmingled²³ in the womb ineffably and incomprehensibly. God makes*

²² Quotations from this declaration, *ղաւանթիւն*, are found in several later Armenian texts, e.g. Kirakos, 331, where many patristic authorities are quoted on the procession of the Holy Spirit. See further Akinean, "P'ok'r Sokrat," 41, for Paul of Taron. This is not the Declaration printed in the *Matenagrut'iwnk'* of Athanasius [ed. Tayec'i], 478-81, which is the Armenian version of the famous "Athanasian Creed." The statement of faith in Step'annos Orbelean, ch. 69, which some MSS attribute to Athanasius, is quite different. For this pseudo-Athanasian creed see the fuller discussion in Winkler, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 189-91, and Akinean and Casey.

²³ Mingles the unmingeable: Akinean, "P'ok'r Sokrat," 41, notes that *անխառնելի*, "unmingled," is a standard expression in Gregory Nazianzenus, the "Theologian," whose works were popular in Armenia. Note, however, that it does not occur in the *Teaching* or

him in unity by dispensation. One Son is confessed and worshipped with honour and glorified, who endured all human conditions without stain, willingly and not by compulsion, in order to make the path for us in completing all righteousness.

[239] *We do not divide the Son according to the dispensation, because Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and today and for ever²⁴. With the Father and with the holy Spirit he is blessed by heavenly and earthly [creatures] by the chanting of "Holy," gathering in one the lordship and divinity of the all-holy Trinity. Now those who so confess with them, we accept; but whoever is of a different [opinion, God] will dispense to him judgment on the day of judgment²⁵.*

CHAPTER 49

Concerning the afflictions brought about by Julian, whereby he oppressed the Christians; and concerning his wish to kill saint Athanasius

Thus briefly has been spoken in accordance with the blessed Athanasius, and those who like him are supporters and continuous praisers of consubstantiality.

[III, 11]²⁶ [245] But the emperor, who at the beginning of his reign had shown himself kind to Christians, gradually instigated war on the Christians to force them into sacrifices to idols, by flattery and fine words, casting calumny on our people.

[III, 12]²⁷ [246] Then the following events befell the aged bishop of Chalcedon. He upbraided Julian for being deprived of the light, calling him impious and godless: "You who abandoned Christianity must give retribution to Christ the king." So he, blind and in darkness, insulted him. But the old man said: "I thank God, I, who am deprived of light, that I do not see the face of you the impious one." Julian said: "May your God, the Galilean, *open your eyes*."²⁸ On saying this he expelled him.

the earliest texts, but figures prominently in later debates over Chalcedon; see the many references in Garsoïan, *Schisme*, Index, 625.

²⁴ Heb. 13. 8.

²⁵ Now... judgment: not in the text of the creed published in Winkler [n. 22 above].

²⁶ III, 11: In SI/Soc: "Julian oppresses the Christians."

²⁷ III, 12: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Maris of Chalcedon."

²⁸ In SI/Soc Julian's remark runs: "Would not your Galilean God heal you?"

[247] From thenceforth he made a beginning of difficulties for Christians. He prevented the arts of *philosophy*²⁹ from being taught to Christians, lest they silence those who possessed those skills.

[III, 13]³⁰ He ordered Christians not to be soldiers, those who did not sacrifice to idols. Nor did he create princes *or governors*³¹ from among Christians. [248] Deceitfully he stated: “The laws do not allow Christians to do this or to resist enemies with a sword.” But he urged them to abandon Christianity, and in this way to serve with honours. They, however, preferred to abandon military service rather than deny Christ; and for the name of Christ they happily endured torments.

[249] Julian planned to go to Persia, and he raised many taxes — not from the heathens but from Christians, in his hatred. For he tried in every way to destroy Christianity and to strengthen paganism altogether, and in every place to strengthen heathen sects and to subdue Christianity.

[250] There was a charge made by the heathens regarding the blessed Athanasius that he was preventing sacrifices to idols *and allowing Christians to teach not to obey the emperor, because he will pass away straightaway*. The emperor, angered, ordered the eparch of Alexandria to arrest him as punishment in prison.

[III, 14]³² On hearing this, [251] he said to the clerics of the church: “Children, this error will rapidly pass.” Boarding a boat with a few companions, he crossed the Nile into Egypt. The soldiers pursued in order to arrest Athanasius. They did not delay in seeking out the man of God. But he eluded them and disguised himself; he reached Alexandria, and hid himself there until the persecution ended.

Now those Christians who had been falsely accused and laboured under taxes — and the tyrants took all their taxes, which the emperor desired [252] so that much money might be collected for himself — they came and informed the emperor of their afflictions and oppression. But Julian said: “*Your Christ made a judgment for you, to give what is Caesar’s to Caesar*³³; *and who takes up the cloak*³⁴ *to leave everything he possesses for him.*”³⁵ In this way there was no justice for the Christians.

²⁹ Philosophy, *φιλοσοφία*, for the “pagan training, *ἑθνηστῶν ἰατρῶν*,” of SI which reflects the Greek ἑλληνικῆς παιδείσεως.

³⁰ III, 13: In SI/Soc: “Julian’s anti-Christian policies.”

³¹ Princes or governors: SII has expanded SI/Soc: “governors of provinces,” *ἡγεμόνων ἀρχόντων*, rendering ἐπιαρχῶν ἄρχοντας.

³² III, 14: In SI/Soc: “Athanasius hides.”

³³ Mt. 22. 21 = Mk. 12. 17.

³⁴ Mt. 5. 40 = Lk. 6. 29.

³⁵ Cf. Mt. 13. 44, 19. 27; Mk. 12. 44; Lk. 5. 11, 18. 22.

CHAPTER 50

*Concerning the destruction of the temples of the idols by Christians,
and their heroism*

[III, 15]³⁶ There was a temple *somewhere*³⁷ closed to cults that was filled with filth, which the ruler of the land cleaned for the cult of the idols. [253] Three men, warm with faith in Christ, came at night and destroyed the idols; their names were Macedonius, Theodulos, and Tatianos. So the ruler planned to submit the Christians to punishments. They came forward and presented themselves, not shrinking from death rather than that others be punished. The ruler said: "*Nothing else will save you from death save that you sacrifice to the gods.*" But they said: "*We shall offer sacrifices to God, but not to demons. Do whatever you wish.*"³⁸ He inflicted the blessed ones with many tortures without harming them at all, and finally burned them with fire. *And thus [254] they completed their martyrdom to the glory and praise of God. The emperor Julian continually was striving for the extermination of Christianity.*

[III, 16]³⁹ And he forbade [rhetorical] art to be taught by Christians.

CHAPTER 51

*Concerning Apollinarius and his art, and the heresy which he
introduced into the church*

Apollinarius, who practised rhetoric, and his father [who practised] grammar, were both skilled in wisdom and at the time were famous. Then the orator⁴⁰ with grammatical skill set down in Christian fashion [255] the books of Moses in heroic verse. He also paraphrased all the Old Testament, setting it down in the form of history. He put it into verse in metre according to its meaning, and he set this out in writing with a *preface*⁴¹, transposing everything in poetic form. Apollinarius,

³⁶ III, 15: In SI/Soc: "Martyrs under Julian."

³⁷ Again SII deliberately keeps the story vague, omitting the placename [Myra].

³⁸ There is no direct speech in SI/Soc. For additions involving demons see the Introduction, 21.

³⁹ III, 16: In SI/Soc: "The activity of Apollinarius."

⁴⁰ Orator: *περὶ ποιη.* or "poet." This is the elder Apollinarius.

⁴¹ With a preface: *ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς τραγῆδος ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ*; in SI *ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς τραγῆδος ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ*. The sense of the Greek "in form of a tragedy" has not been understood.

who was expert in speaking, arranged the gospels and apostolic [epistles], and produced all the books of the Christians in the form of dialogues. Just as Plato [composed] those [dialogues] of the heathens, so then did these men compose those of the Christians; and through their related labours they overcame the subtlety of the emperor. [256] But the providence of God was greater than their efforts.

For [providence] rendered the emperor's zeal in these matters a help to us who are separated from the heathen arts and freed from the snares of the error of polytheism. Through these things it condemned them to useless deeds, and they were reproached — and this not pointlessly, but in accordance with the intention of Christ and the apostles. For by the wisdom of God the world did not recognise God through wisdom. God was pleased through the preaching of simple men to save the believers; [257] and truly the divinely inspired books of the apostles are most particularly just. They contain the miracles of the godly and rules for piety, and have defined an upright way of life and faith for the lovers of God who observe them and pay heed; and not in accordance with the art of those who contend in words, who wage war with the truth — [258] such as Julian, who not only as ruler conducted a fight against Christianity, but also with grand words dishonoured Christianity, [259] and to the weak-minded showed the heathen error to be awesome and just. For such were [his] deceitful efforts.

But it is for the persons who are right-minded and [true] philosophers to recognise their arguments and to refute them with their own. As the apostle Paul mentions *their saying about*⁴² Epimenides the Cretan: "Cretans are always liars, cunning, rogues."⁴³ And accurately he makes testimony. It is superfluous to speak of the apostles. For it is necessary to speak what is good and also to receive it from those outside [the church]. [260] So much for Apollinarius.

*He was one of the sophists who later introduced schism into the church, saying that Christ did not have a human soul. When refuted by many, he agreed that Christ had a soul, but not a human mind. He said the Word of God replaced the mind, who activated everything. He was vanquished by many orthodox*⁴⁴.

⁴² SII has misunderstood the "Oracles [of Epimenides]" in SI/Soc. Epimenides is not named in the Bible.

⁴³ Tit. 1. 13.

⁴⁴ This addition is based on II, 46, above, which is omitted in its rightful place. The Apollinarius is the younger, bishop of Laodicaea. His heresy is attacked in the *Book of Letters*, the first reference to Apollinarius by name being in the correspondence with the

CHAPTER 52

Concerning the persecutions caused by Julian, and his tormenting the saints of God

[III, 17]⁴⁵ Julian gathered much money from the Christians and advanced into Persia. [261] On reaching Antioch, he made no few seizures of property from rich Christians and merchants, and also from the churches.

[III, 18]⁴⁶ [262] He opened the temple of Antioch for the cult of idols with sacrifices. But the demon who dwelt in the temple was in awe of saint Babelas, as the coffin in which the holy relics lay was nearby. When Julian realised that this was because of the saint, [263] he ordered the coffin to be moved to the city of Daphne. The Christians, on hearing this command, transferred the coffin with psalms and blessings, awe and respect, which made the heathen spectators astonished.

[III, 19]⁴⁷ In these [times] the hidden character of the emperor was revealed. Envious at these events and indignant, he stirred up persecutions on the Christians like those of Diocletian. [264] He ordered the eparch to put the psalm-singers to torture. He seized a youth who name was Theodore, who was in the clergy, and tortured him with many and varied torments. Then he left him without hope of life. But the will of God often revived those who confessed him.

[265] Now concerning Theodore the priest of Antioch, who bore witness before many witnesses, was subjected to many tortures by Julian's uncle⁴⁸, and was martyred⁴⁹ with a good confession — I leave that to the history concerning him. *He inflicted many more tortures on the saints, which have not been written down.*

Then a letter came from Persia seeking peace. But he did not accept it, *because justice dragged him away to death*⁵⁰.

[III, 20]⁵¹ In all places he offered sacrifices to the temples, and delighted in the blood and smoke of the sacrifices.

Syrians at the time of Dvin I [in 506], *GT'*, 53 [= II, 174]. Cf. also Yovhannēs Mandakuni, *Demonstration*, II, 2. But emphasis on the soul of Christ is earlier; e.g. the creed of Sahak I in *GT'*, 10 [= II, 43], or Elišē, 29.

⁴⁵ III, 17: In SI/Soc: "Julian at Antioch."

⁴⁶ III, 18: In SI/Soc: "Julian seeks an oracle."

⁴⁷ III, 19: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Theodore the Confessor."

⁴⁸ Julians' uncle: *ḡḡḡḡ*. The *Life of Theodore* in *VV*, I, 532-44, also refers to his arrest by Julian's uncle. The source mentioned by Soc is Rufinus.

⁴⁹ According to Soc Theodore survived, having confessed Christ.

⁵⁰ Justice: *ḡḡḡḡḡḡ*, "that which is right, worthy." The same expression is used concerning Julian in *MX*, III, 17. See also above, p. 82.

⁵¹ III, 20: in SI/Soc: "Julian and the Jews."

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CHAPTER 53

How Julian commanded the Jews to go to Jerusalem and to build the temple; and how immediately it collapsed from an earthquake.

The sign of the cross appeared on the garments of the Jews.

Julian kills saint Cyril, the bishop in Jerusalem, and his mother; and characteristics of the Cyrils

He summoned the Jews as well, and praised them for offering sacrifices in accordance with the Law of Moses. He ordered them to sacrifice according to the Law so that he might see whether it is really right *for us* to do this except⁵² in Jerusalem. Then [he commanded] the Jews to rebuild the temple of Solomon promptly. The Jews received an order from the royal court to cover the expenses of building the temple from taxes on Christians. So the Jews showed themselves fearsome to the Christians. They hastily pressed on with the work; they baked bricks, and prepared stone, lime, sand and wood, and whatever was necessary for the construction.

[267] Then Cyril, the bishop of Jerusalem, recalled to the Christians the saying in the gospel as a prophecy: "The time will come when stone shall not remain upon stone which will not be removed."⁵³ These words had hardly been spoken by him, when there was an earthquake that very night. It dismantled all the foundations and destroyed the fabric of the construction. There did not remain a stone upon stone which was not overturned. The tools of the workers were burned with fire which fell from above on that spot — the hammers and saws, axes and hatchets; and all the implements for building were fodder to the fire.

The Jews, seized by fear, unwillingly confessed Christ as God, [268] but they did not do his will, in accordance with their previous insolence. On the next night the light of the cross shone out brightly, formed in the shape of a cross on the garments of the Jews. For some days they were unable to extinguish the miracle. *Seized with astonishment at this and humbled, they did not mourn in opposition but turned to Christ the Saviour*⁵⁴. Then the building of the temple ceased through the miracles

⁵² SII has omitted the negative: "nowhere else except in Jerusalem," in SI/Soc. "For us:" see the Introduction, p. 25-26.

⁵³ Cf. Mt. 24. 2, Lk. 19. 44, 21. 6. SII omits the reference to Daniel in SI/Soc: "the prophecy of Daniel which Christ sealed in the gospels," i.e. Dan. 9. 27.

⁵⁴ See also VII, 4, p. 573, for a supposed conversion of Jews.

which were revealed by God. *But the wonders which appeared on them brought no advantage to them, [269] just as the miracles which were performed by the prophets, and especially by Christ, did no [good to them]. For their hearts were bent away from understanding, and they said they would do the Law, but they did not. Thus acted the Lord of all peoples, and he revealed his judgments as [he did] to them*⁵⁵.

*When Julian, who was wishing to build the temple, came to Jerusalem he was informed about what had transpired. In reflection he kept silent. But he tormented the Christians, and arrested the bishop through whom the discovery of the cross had been made, and killed him with cruel tortures and also his mother. They were martyred with a good confession of faith to the glory of God, just as their "Martyrdom" declares, which it is superfluous to repeat. But it is said that there were two Cyrils: the one, through whom the discovery of the cross occurred and who was previously known as Juda, was martyred by Julian. Having been baptised [he was called] Cyril, who they say held office among the church of the orthodox, and received the martyr's crown. After him there is said to be another Cyril, who they said held the opinion of Arius*⁵⁶. *This Cyril survived down to the holy council which [was held] concerning the "Fighter against the Spirit." Thus the two of them are distinguished*⁵⁷.

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CHAPTER 54

Concerning the death of the foul Julian

[III, 21]⁵⁸ After many evil deeds committed by Julian, he heard from diviners and soothsayers: "*Although the camps of the enemy surround you, you have always the victory.*"⁵⁹ Maximus the philosopher declared dreams which showed Julian ruling over the world like Alexander of Macedon. Deceived by these prognostications, he did not accept the

⁵⁵ Akinean, "P'ok'r Sokrat," 48, notes a parallel in the Life of Cyril in Vienna, MS I, f. 184a-188b.

⁵⁶ The first Cyril is Judas Cyriacus; see above, p. 10. For his martyrdom by Julian see Drijvers and Drijvers, 27-8. The second Cyril is the bishop of Jerusalem, circa 350 to 386, who had the reputation of being anti-homoousion, but who attended the council of CP in 381 and recited the Jerusalem creed which contained that phrase. See also p. 296, where the omission of the name of Eudoxius implies that it was Cyril who was an Arian.

⁵⁷ For the deposition of Macedonius, the "fighter against the Spirit," see II, 42.

⁵⁸ III, 21: In SI/Soc: "The death of Julian."

⁵⁹ This remark is not in the account of Julian's death in MX, III, 17.

Persian proposal of peace which they sought. Then he gathered all his men and invaded Persia. The Persian king, not obtaining a peace-proposal, went out to oppose Julian and his army with all his strength in battle. [271] There was a fierce battle, and Julian's army was defeated and put to flight. But Julian, being present, held back his troops and encouraged them to conquer with hope in his magic⁶⁰. Then [someone] came with drawn sword⁶¹ and struck his heart, and he was slain right there. I cannot say for sure whether by a man or an exacting angel of God. But Callistos, one of his soldiers, [272] describes his death as being struck by a demon. *For he was indeed a demon-worshipper, and from the demons he received worthy retribution in accordance with Christ's vengeance. In this way the evil one was removed by an evil [demon]*⁶². He had threatened after his return to inflict evil on the Christians; but it happened not as he wished but as was the will of God. He died aged thirty, having been Caesar for seven years and having reigned for one year⁶³.

[III, 22]⁶⁴ Then the army of the Romans was cast into perplexity, not altogether but on that same matter.

CHAPTER 55

How he wrote books; and how Jovian reigned, and how he made a treaty with the Persians

After the death of the emperor they declared Jovian to be ruler, [273] a brave man of good birth, who was chiliarch when Julian revealed his pagan doctrine: either to sacrifice to idols or to resign from the army⁶⁵. Jovian preferred to lay down his military career rather than deny his faith and carry out the command of the impious emperor. But Julian, for the sake of the urgent needs of the war, kept him as an *officer*⁶⁶ in command of the army. Then the general and troops gathered to make Jovian

⁶⁰ In SI/Soc Julian puts the enemy to flight. Hope in his magic: յուսով Հմայից: Soc refers to Julian's trust in his τύχη, in SI բարեբախտութեան յուսով.

⁶¹ Sword: սուր, but "javelin," նիղաղ, in SI, as Soc. MX, III, 17, does not specify the weapon; Samuel of Ani, 66, refers to "an arrow from heaven," which is in accordance with the Julian Romance.

⁶² For the role of demons in the additions of SII see the Introduction, 21.

⁶³ Aged 31 in SI/Soc. According to Soc Julian died in the third year of his reign; SI states "in the second year."

⁶⁴ III, 22: In SI/Soc: "Jovian becomes emperor."

⁶⁵ Cf. p. 247-8. Chiliarch: Հաղարայտ, as SI.

emperor. However, he declined authority over the generals and army. He protested and said: "*It is not right for a Christian to rule over pagans [274] who are imbued with evil sects.*" But they in unison raised their voices, *shouting that they would abandon heathen cults and would learn Christianity, "as your will may command us."*⁶⁷ On these statements he accepted the imperium⁶⁸.

The army at that juncture was afflicted with doubts. Since there were nowhere resources for food, he made a treaty with the Persians. They ended the war by surrendering Mesopotamia *and* the city of Nisibis⁶⁹ to the Persians. In this way the Roman army returned. The Christians were strengthened, and paganism declined. But they all found fault with the treaty.

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CHAPTER 56

How Julian's sophist delivered an elegy on Julian, and his dissolute person

Then Julian's sophist Libanius composed an elegy for him concerning all his life, and whatever words were worthy of his tomb and lamentations on his death. I reckoned it superfluous to include the elegy in this History.

[III, 23] [278] From his appearance he was recognised not to possess the mark of a Christian. For his head was not agreeable; *and he had a lengthy beard, which was plaited long like a cord of twisted ropes*⁷⁰. His shoulders were athletic and twitching; [279] his eyes were downcast and rolling; and his aspect raving. His nostrils breathed insults; his feet were vile and contemptible; the form and appearance of his face were very ridiculous and fiery. Altogether his sight was hateful; and even more hateful to God was his behaviour. He was cruel to Christians and God's holy ones. Therefore the orthodox and talented Gregory most especially, who was also called the "theologian,"⁷¹ describes his deeds in lengthy

⁶⁶ Officer: *այր երեւելի*, lit. "prominent person;" SI/Soc: "among the generals."

⁶⁷ According to SI/Soc, the soldiers declared that they were Christians.

⁶⁸ Imperium: *թագաւորութիւն*, lit. "kingship," as SI, for the βασιλεία of Soc.

⁶⁹ Mesopotamia... Nisibis: in SI/Soc, "the great city of Mesopotamia, Nisibis."

⁷⁰ This addition has no parallel in the Armenian version of the *Contra Iulianum*; see n. 72 below.

⁷¹ See below, p. 368, for the reason why Gregory Nazianzenus was known as "the theologian."

discourses, and accurately narrates his actions for those who might wish to learn. [280] In many places his wicked deeds and words are mentioned, and it is superfluous for us to repeat those accounts⁷².

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CHAPTER 57

Concerning the return of Jovian from the war and his restoring Christianity; and how Athanasius was restored to his see by the command of Jovian, and ease for the Christians came about

[III, 24]⁷³ After Jovian had returned with the army to their own country, he immediately began to restore Christianity and destroy paganism. The prelates of the church hastened to visit the emperor, and through him to confirm their own faith. He declared that for the sake of peace all should observe the faith of consubstantiality [handed down] by the holy council of Nicaea, [286] and nothing beyond that. He wrote letters to Athanasius that he should hold his own see again and the churches of Alexandria and Egypt which had been previously entrusted to him. *Then he took courage from the emperor's letters, revealed himself from hiding, took his throne and shepherded his congregation*⁷⁴. He summoned the believers in God and all the bishops exiled by Constantius. And those not confirmed by Julian he recalled and confirmed. He abolished the cults of the heathens and destroyed their untended temples. Those who wore the noble robes of philosophy in accordance with Julian's legislation he ordered to put them off and to clothe themselves in garments of the common people. [287] He brought an end to the pollutions which had been carried out with blood and in public, which under Julian had taken place in accordance with the pagans' religion.

[III, 25]⁷⁵ The warfare of the pagans against the Christians was silenced; but the warfare of Christians among themselves was not silenced. For the Macedonians composed a document in order to introduce their own people in the place of those deposed, and to confirm the faith of Macedonius,

⁷² Soc specifically refers to the "Second Oration against the Hellenes," i.e. *Oratio V* of Gregory Nazianzenus; see the Armenian version, vol. 2.

⁷³ III, 24: In SI/Soc: "Jovian restores Christianity."

⁷⁴ According to SI/Soc, Athanasius had recovered his throne immediately after Julian's death.

⁷⁵ III, 25: In SI/Soc: "The Macedonians accept the Nicene faith."

the "fighter against the Spirit." Having read this document, he made them no reply.

He said: "I hate disputation and love unity *in accordance with the faith of the holy council.*" [288] This reached the ears of all in accordance with the emperor's purpose. In those [times] the disputatiousness of Acacius was blamed; and how they were always subservient to those in power was clearly revealed. Gathering in Syrian Antioch, they persuaded Meletius, who accepted consubstantiality, and they did the same. For they saw that the emperor honoured him. Then they composed a statement of faith in accordance with the holy council of Nicaea, and presented it to the emperor, to Meletius, bishop of Antioch, and to many other orthodox as well⁷⁶. The emperor was well-disposed to persuade them by supplication — which did not solve the disputes — because disturbance of the faith was onerous to him. Consequently, he said he would honour and particularly love those in unity with the faith of the holy council from the beginning.

[III, 26]⁷⁷ [289] In this way the emperor mollified the opposition of the schismatics *into unity with the holy council, to the glory of the all-holy Trinity.*

CHAPTER 58

Concerning Jovian's going to bury Julian, and how how he was eulogised. And on coming to Constantinople he died [at] a village, having reigned for seven months

The emperor went from Antioch to Tarsus in Cilicia. [290] There he buried Julian's body⁷⁸. *He arranged the governors of the land*⁷⁹, and then promptly returned to Constantinople. On his way he came to a certain village called Dataran⁸⁰, near to the borders of Galatia. There [lived] the philosopher Themistius. With other nobles they came out to meet the

⁷⁶ SI omits this document, hence it does not appear in SII. In Soc the list of signatories includes Ἰσακίκης Ἀρμενίας μεγάλης, i.e. Sahak; see Garsoian, *Schisme*, 40.

⁷⁷ III, 26: In SI/Soc: "The death of Jovian."

⁷⁸ Step'annos Taronec'i [Asofik] only mentions the content of Socrates' *History* when referring to Julian's death and burial at Tarsus, II, 6.

⁷⁹ Why "governors," *ἡγεμονίαι*, are introduced is puzzling. Perhaps the redactor had in mind the description of Valaršak's "good administration" [as of Jovian just below] in MX, II, 7-8, where the princely families are placed in command of various provinces.

⁸⁰ Dataran: Datastan in SI, Dadastan in Soc.

emperor, and spoke words of eulogy to the emperor, which later on were presented in writing in Constantinople. [291] The eulogy was pleasing [to Jovian]. The emperor tried to embellish all the administration of the Romans in noble fashion, of state and church. There in that same village he caught an illness of which he died, having lived for thirty-three years and having reigned for seven months⁸¹.

Alas for his premature⁸² death, he who was so beneficent and just. In the right faith he left all the evil things [of the world] and grasped rectitude; all the affairs of church and state he conducted properly. In this fashion he was rapidly removed from [our] midst. His death caused consternation to many of the believers, who should wonder at the profundities of God's administration, although his judgments are inscrutable. No little grief was caused to the church and the orthodox. He thus fell asleep to the glory and praise of God.

⁸¹ Jovian reigned 26 June 363 to 16 February 364.

⁸² Premature: *ωρμη*, lit. "swift;" cf. Zeph. 1. 14. Vardan's statement, *Chronicle*, 44, that Socrates praises Jovian seems more likely to refer to this passage in SII than to the general account in SI/Soc.

[BOOK IV]

CHAPTER 59

How Valentinian was elected to the empire, and takes his brother Valens as a colleague for the empire

[IV, 1]¹ Then immediately the *generals and troops* gathered and elected Valentinian to the empire. He was from the nation of Pannonia, from the city of Cibalis; [294] and in military rank had demonstrated many acts of bravery and intelligence at tactics. He was a man with greatness of mind, and appeared superior to the fortune that befell him. Having been crowned, he came to Constantinople and took his brother Valens as colleague for his empire, thirty days after his own summons².

Valentinian was of the [295] Nicene faith; but Valens of that of Arius and of the *Pneumatomachos Macedonius*, having been baptised by Eudoxius, bishop of Constantinople and having adhered to that evil heresy which Eudoxius professed in succession to Macedonius the *Pneumatomachos*³. For this reason on becoming rulers they were separated from each other. When they had been forced by Julian to sacrifice or to abandon military service, they both demonstrated their virtue, choosing willingly to abandon military service rather than sacrifice to demons. But their usefulness to Julian prevented his quarrelling with these men, and Julian greatly honoured them. Now Valentinian received the adherents of the faith more for the love of Christ, and was not a persecutor of the Arians. But Valens tried to increase the Arians and *Pneumatomachoi*, and everywhere obstructed the right [faith].

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CHAPTER 60

Who were the prelates of the church at that time

At that time the prelate⁴ of the church of Rome was Liberius, and of Alexandria saint Athanasius, *who pastured the orthodox in*

¹ IV, 1: In SI/Soc: "Valentinian and Valens become emperors."

² Valentinian I: emperor February 364 to November 375; Valens, March 364 to August 378.

³ For the death of Macedonius see the addition on p.194. SII does not explicitly mention the succession of Eudoxius; cf. II, 41.

⁴ Prelate: *ὑπερσυντακτικός* for *ὑπερσυντακτικός* in SI; *προεστῆται* in Soc. Cf. the use of *ὑπερσυντακτικός*, p. 123, 369.

*Christ*⁵. Lucius, who succeeded George, held the Arian prelacy⁶. At Antioch Meletius [was prelate] *of the orthodox*, and Euzoius⁷ *of the Arians*. At Jerusalem Cyril was summoned, who they said held the opinions of Arius⁸; while those who were of the *right faith*⁹ made their prayers in a small house. [297] Those who were *Pneumatomachoi* of Macedonius¹⁰ preserved that sect *from Meletius*, and those of Acacius were in similar circumstances.

CHAPTER 61

How Valentinian went to the region of the west, and Valens to Constantinople, for the administration of the country

[IV, 2]¹¹ The emperor Valentinian went to the region of the west for the administration of the country, while Valens, remaining in Constantinople, raised up war on the holy churches through the sect of Macedonius. Those of [the party of] Acacius united and made haste to convene a council at Lampsacus. Valens went to Antioch for the administration of that country, and there he ordered bishop Meletius [298] to be exiled on account of the faith. He did not say anything [against] bishop Paulinus because of his exceeding piety. He told *the prelate of the Pneumatomachoi*¹² to submit to the council. Those who did not submit he submitted to numerous punishments, and some he threw into the river to drown.

⁵ Orthodox: *ορθοδοξοι*, where SI/Soc read: “[Athanasius was bishop of the] faith in consubstantiality.” The same change also occurs two lines below. Liberius, Pope 352-366; Athanasius, bishop 328-373.

⁶ Lucius, 365 and 375-378; George, 357-361.

⁷ Euzoius: as SI/Soc. SII reads “Zozios,” in accordance with its general omission of initial “Eu-” in names, as also “Nomius” for “Eunomius;” see p. 35. Meletius, 360-381; Euzoius, 360-376.

⁸ After “Cyril” SI/Soc read: “the churches at CP were ruled by Eudoxius who [held the opinion of Arius].” By its omission SII has completely changed the charge of Arianism. See also the addition on p. 269. Cyril, bishop 350-386 with interruptions.

⁹ Right faith: for “consubstantiality” in SI/Soc.

¹⁰ Macedonius, 342-346 and 351-360.

¹¹ IV, 2: In SI/Soc: “Valentinian goes to the west; Valens remains in CP.” The order of events in SII is somewhat changed.

¹² The prelate [*πρεβυτερος*, cf. n. 4 above] of the Pneumatomachoi: In SI/Soc: “those who did not wish to communicate with Euzoius.”

CHAPTER 62

A certain tyrant Procopius attacks Valens in battle; he is seized and killed

[IV, 3]¹³ In those [times] there arose in Constantinople a certain tyrant Procopius, who gathered a numerous army in a very short time [299] and attacked Valens in battle. *Valens went out to oppose him with a large force.* While they were in this turmoil and disturbance and doubt, a fearsome earthquake occurred and damaged many cities. It also changed the familiar boundary of the sea, so that one could sail over previously high places of the land. And it so retreated from all places that sailors found themselves on dry land. This happened in the first year of both emperors¹⁴.

[IV, 4]¹⁵ Although these things had taken place, the conflict of secular and church affairs did not cease. Those assembled at Lampsacus anathematised the faith of the orthodox and confirmed the faith of Macedonius and of Acacius¹⁶ [300] in accordance with the wishes of the emperor Valens.

[IV, 5]¹⁷ There was a *general*¹⁸ war between Valens and the tyrant. Valens was somewhat worsted by the tyrant; [301] but then the tyrant was handed over to Valens by his army. He [killed] the betrayers with terrible punishments by sawing. In the following way he obliterated the oaths he had previously made. He bound the two feet of the tyrant to two trees which he had brought down near to each other. When he let them go, they split [the tyrant] in two; thus he died. Such was the outcome of the battle.

CHAPTER 63

How Valens raised up war against the orthodox, and also destroyed the wall of Chalcedon

[IV, 6]¹⁹ Once more Valens raised up war on the orthodox; [302] he planned to bring everyone to the faith of Arius and of the *Pneumatomachos*.

¹³ IV, 3: In SI/Soc: "Procopius at Constantinople."

¹⁴ Le. 364-5.

¹⁵ IV, 4: I SI/Soc: "The council at Lampsacus."

¹⁶ In SI/Soc Acacius and Eudoxius are condemned earlier in the chapter.

¹⁷ In SI/Soc: "Death of Procopius."

¹⁸ General: *աշխարհակահն*, lit. "affecting the world."

¹⁹ IV, 6: In SI/Soc: "Valens imposes Arianism."

He held a synod of Arian bishops, [at which] all confessed whatever he wished. *Those who agreed, he honoured. But those who did not wish to agree he dishonoured, and some he ordered to be exiled. In this way some for fear claimed that they adhered to Arianism, but afterwards repented and then adhered to their own [faith].* The bishop of Cyzicus complained, went to his own see, and did not exercise the episcopate. He called himself unworthy [303] since he had denied the faith from fear. [IV, 7]²⁰ When Eudoxius, the bishop of Constantinople, heard this he appointed in his place Eunomius, who had been the secretary²¹ of the impious Aetius, as I said above. Eleusios was deposed. When he [Eunomios] arrived there, [304] with his customary strange²² arguments he gave instruction, and there was no small disturbance. They did not accept him, but expelled him from the city. Eunomios went to Constantinople and remained with Eudoxius devoid of a see. [305] He presumed to say as follows: God knows nothing more concerning his own essence than us; but whatever we know about his essence, all that indeed he too knows. He professed this and still further such opinions, vain and useless, and he did not deplore them. For this reason a little [later] he separated from the Arians.

[IV, 8]²³ Valens destroyed the wall of Chalcedon which faced the city of Constantinople, for there the tyrant had fortified himself. Having demolished it, they brought the stones to Constantinople in order to build [306] the royal²⁴ baths which were named after Constantine. They found an engraved stone, an *aqueduct*²⁵ which had been hidden from years past. Then they discovered from the inscription the water-course arranged by the emperors. The water was abundant for everyone in the city. They all entreated the emperor [to desist] from destroying the wall; [307] he heeded them and desisted. Then they rebuilt the destroyed part, but it was not as finely done as it had been.

²⁰ IV, 7: In SI/Soc: "Eunomius ["Nomios" in SII] is appointed bishop of Cyzicus."

²¹ Secretary: SI renders the Greek ὑπογραφεύς by the calque ստորագրող, a common term. Why SII changed it to շարագրող, which means more precisely "author," is not clear. SII has omitted the earlier reference in II, 35, to Eunomius as "stenographer" of Aetius.

²² Strange: աւտարածայն, as in SI. The Armenian has rendered the Greek verb ξενοφονέω, by an adjective.

²³ IV, 8: In SI/Soc: "The walls of Chalcedon are demolished."

²⁴ Royal: արքունահան, as SI, for the "public" of Soc; see also p. 560 for the same change.

²⁵ Aqueduct: ածուծն ջրոյն but աւծուծն, "anointing," in SI, which is a misinterpretation of the Greek χρησμός, "oracle." SII has interpreted this as ածուծն, "conduit," in light of the following line, and has added ջրոյն, "of water." SI, followed by SII, omits the quotation of the oracle in ten lines.

[IV, 9]²⁶ Valens did not cease persecuting the *orthodox*²⁷. He also exiled the *bishops*²⁸ who were of that schism. [308] Their prelate was virtuous in his behaviour; he [wore] one coat and went barefoot. His name was Agelius, an old man. From the times of Constantine the Great he had held the church, which Valens ordered to be closed. Now a certain priest of the Novatians, a philosopher named Marcian, who instructed the daughters of Valens — through him and their supplications he let alone the old man and his church. But they were hateful to *him*²⁹, because they liked to receive the orthodox, and those of the Arian [faith] were separated from them³⁰.

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CHAPTER 64

Concerning the hail, the earthquake, and the terror; and concerning the wickedness of Valens

[IV, 11]³¹ In those same times there was a *severe* storm of hail the size of a fist accompanied by stones in Constantinople, [310] which terrified the city. They all said that this anger came from the Lord because of the impiety of Valens. However, he was in no way affected, but sent into exile those who would not communicate with Eudoxius. Immediately afterwards³² there was a great earthquake in Bithynia. It destroyed the city of Nicaea on the 11th of October, which occurred twelve years after the destruction of the great earthquake [of Nicomedia]³³. And in the Hellespont there were earthquakes, and many places were destroyed. Of these Valens and the Arians had no fear.

Nor did Valens and his teacher Eudoxius cease from exiling the orthodox, [311] the bishops and priests who did not agree with them, save only those whom, by the providence of God's grace because of the

²⁶ IV, 9: In SI/Soc: "Persecution by Valens."

²⁷ Orthodox: *ορθοδοξοι*, but "[the party] of consubstantiality" in SI/Soc; as also in the last line of the chapter. Cf. above, p. 296, for the same change.

²⁸ The bishops: for "the Novatians" in SI/Soc; hence the reference to "their" prelate, immediately following.

²⁹ Him: SI and Soc refer here to the Arians, not Valens.

³⁰ SII omits ch. 10: In SI/Soc: "Valentinian's son is born."

³¹ IV, 11: In SI/Soc: "Hail and earthquakes." Hansen, note ad loc, indicates that the storm occurred on 2/6/367 and the earthquake on 11/10/368.

³² Immediately afterwards: as SI; but Soc: "in the next consulate."

³³ SII omits the reference to Nicomedia in SI/Soc.

abounding grace which their superior knowledge and famously pious lives enjoyed, *Valens and all the heterodox respected* — namely the blessed Basil, who was bishop of Caesarea, who held the see of Cappadocia, and the great Gregory, *also called the “theologian,”* the bishop of Nazianzen, which is close to *Cappadocia*³⁴. But as for our description of these [persons], we shall speak at the appropriate time in our discourse³⁵.

[312]

CHAPTER 65

The persecution of the orthodox by Valens; and saint Athanasius goes into hiding

[IV, 12]³⁶ *Now those persecuted for orthodoxy in opposition to the Pneumatomachoi had recourse to Valentinian, the brother of Valens*³⁷. [They were] greeted by the bishop of Rome for not communicating with heretics, and the Lord visited them. [313] But the emperor Valentinian was distant from the country, so those who had recourse to him did not meet him and went their way.

[IV, 13]³⁸ At the same time Eudoxius and Eunomius convened separate councils. [314] Eunomius begged that his teacher Aetius be received, but Eudoxius did not agree — not scorning the opinions of Aetius, *but rather lest all his wisdom and good sense destroy the opinions of his sect*³⁹. [315] For this reason Eudoxius deposed Eunomius. This happened in Constantinople.

Then an order reached the eparch in Alexandria *from Valens and Eudoxius to punish the orthodox who might not profess the same [as them]*. But the crowd raised a tumult and general disturbance. Then Athanasius, *the preacher of orthodoxy*, fearing that the clergy and people

³⁴ Cappadocia: Sic! SI/Soc: Caesarea. For Gregory's title of "the theologian" see the addition on p. 358.

³⁵ See IV, 26-27.

³⁶ IV, 12: In SI/Soc: "Delegation to Liberius, bishop of Rome." This chapter is greatly abbreviated in SII and much of the sense has been lost.

³⁷ In SI/Soc it is the Macedonians who sent a delegation to Valentinian and Liberius because of persecution.

³⁸ IV, 13: In SI/Soc: "The separate councils of Eudoxius and Eunomius."

³⁹ His sect: i.e. that of Eudoxius. Here SI/Soc state that Eudoxius's party regarded Aetius as unorthodox.

of God might have a cause for conflict and death, immediately went into hiding, concealing himself for *three*⁴⁰ months in his father's tomb. Much grief and uproar occurred in Alexandria regarding Athanasius, of which the eparch made Valens aware. He unwillingly agreed because of the disorders of the city and country, and wrote a sworn statement that Athanasius could return and take possession of his church, *if he were still alive. When he heard this, he made himself visible, [316]* and came and took his see down to his death. *He confirmed the faith of the orthodox, and was disturbed by nobody.*

CHAPTER 66

The death of Eudoxius, bishop of Constantinople; in his place the Arians put Demophilus, but the orthodox party [appointed] a certain Evagrius. Afflictions on the orthodox by Valens

[IV, 14]⁴¹ In those [times] Eudoxius died, bishop of Constantinople. In his place the Arians made Demophilus [bishop], but the orthodox⁴² a certain Evagrius.

[IV, 15]⁴³ Now the Arians [317] raised up a serious conflict at the instigation of Valens. They insulted them, and beat the one ordained and those who had ordained him. These were not able to endure it, and went for justice to Valens.

[IV, 16]⁴⁴ Then he ordered the eparch⁴⁵ to kill them secretly. [318] The eparch put them on a ship *as if to bring them to the city*⁴⁶, and ordered them to be burned at sea. In this fashion they were burned and sunk at sea. Those who had set the fire went on another boat [319] to their own lands.

[IV, 17]⁴⁷ In Antioch and all the east Valens did not cease punishing the orthodox with various tortures and death in various ways. *He had a greater hatred for the orthodox than for idolators.*

⁴⁰ Three: four, in SI/Soc, η and η being easily confused.

⁴¹ IV, 14: In SI/Soc: "Bishops at Constantinople."

⁴² Orthodox: *ζωδιωφωσις*, literally a calque on *ὁμόδοξος*, for the more usual *οὐρηφωσις*. As above, p. 307, SII changes "the homoousian party" of SI/Soc. Demophilus, bishop 370-380; Evagrius, 370. SII omits the reference in IV, 15 to his exile.

⁴³ IV, 15: In SI/Soc: "Persecution by the Arians."

⁴⁴ IV, 16: "Orthodox priests burned at sea."

⁴⁵ Eparch: as SI, for the *ὑπαρχος* of Soc.

⁴⁶ In SI/Soc: they were sent away as if to exile.

⁴⁷ IV, 17: In SI/Soc: "Persecution by Valens."

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CHAPTER 67

Concerning the shrine of the apostle Thomas and events at it

[IV, 18]⁴⁸ I shall speak also of [events] in Syrian Mesopotamia, in Edessa. There was there a shrine⁴⁹ of the holy apostle Thomas, splendid and famous; and many gatherings were held there because of the holiness of the place. When Valens heard this, *he wrote*⁵⁰ to the eparch to destroy such a gathering of orthodoxy, supposing [them] to oppose him. He made them aware of the emperor's wishes, so that they would not gather there lest they be killed. [321] But they disregarded the threats of Valens and the words of the eparch, and many gathered at the shrine in prayer according to custom.

The eparch collected a large armed force to prevent them [from gathering] or to kill them in accordance with the command of Valens, and he surrounded the shrine. A certain poor woman, leading her child by the hand, broke through the crowd of soldiers and made for the shrine. The eparch said: "Why are you, O woman, mad for death?" The woman said: "Let me and my child be martyred with the others." He was astonished at the woman's faith and at the behaviour of the gathering, [322] and restrained himself from violence. He informed the emperor of their firm faith, and checked his anger.

CHAPTER 68

Concerning the demon and what deceits it performed through sorcery; and the killing of some because of their common name

[IV, 19]⁵¹ In those times a certain murderous demon influenced Valens through sorcery. It persuaded many as to who would reign after Valens, and by enchantment the demon foretold [his] death. Not openly, but by deceit it indicated four letters: "t, e, o, d;" the name of the person who was to reign after Valens began with these. This was bruited about and reached the ears of the emperor. He had a grudge, as he thought that the

⁴⁸ IV, 18: In SI/Soc: "The shrine of Thomas at Edessa."

⁴⁹ Shrine: *ἱερὸν*, as SI, for the *μαρτύριον* of Soc.

⁵⁰ Wrote to: In SI: "threatened." But Soc states that Valens is said to have struck the eparch with his own hand.

⁵¹ IV, 19: In SI/Soc: "A demon influences Valens."

tricks of the demons were true, [323] and he did not heed God the omniscient. He killed many among those who were close to these names: Theodore, Theodotius, Theodosiolus⁵², the brave and virtuous, and many others. Many from fear changed their names *and denied their former name*.

CHAPTER 69

Concerning the brave patience and death of saint Athanasius; and the appointment of Peter, a pious man

In this fashion Valens was a lover of evil and not a lover of good, nor did he favour the churches of God.

[IV, 20]⁵³ But the divine providence towards Athanasius was blessed. [324] Valens restrained his wickedness regarding the activities of the orthodox party.

He temporised from disturbing Alexandria and Egypt; for he knew the trust of all in the man of God and the confirmation of orthodoxy in them all through that blessed one. He was therefore hesitant lest the country be cast into turmoil and damaged by the crowds, *so he refrained from disturbing the life of the holy man.*

*That man of God was in every way notable for his faith and virtues. He was not humbled by any of his opponents or led astray into the varied and diverse sects of the time. [325] But he remained immovable at the heresies of his time, like a rock at the edge of the sea [endures] the pounding of the waves. It is appropriate to quote the saying of the prophet: "Unless the Lord God had left to us offspring" of the orthodox faith, the blessed Athanasius, "we would have been like Sodom and resembled Gomorrah."*⁵⁴ *For with patience at all persecutions and troubles he endured many tribulations for the sake of the churches of God.*

He ordained Peter to his own see, an intelligent man and a fearer of God in all righteous religion. He himself departed this world for the future one among the holy patriarchs, having held his episcopacy for forty-six years⁵⁵. *He moved many to tears and sad laments and*

⁵² In its abbreviated rendering SII has changed the sense here. According to SI/Soc: Valens killed many whose names were Theodotus, Theodosius and Theodulus, and amongst them a certain Theodosiolus, a brave and virtuous man.

⁵³ IV, 20: In SI/Soc: "The death of Athanasius; he is succeeded by Peter."

⁵⁴ Is. 1. 9.

⁵⁵ Athanasius died on 3 May 373, in the 46th year of his episcopate. Peter II, 28/4/373 to 1/2/380.

*regrets, in Alexandria and Egypt and all regions of the orthodox. He left many homilies composed about the orthodox faith and holy lives, and a commentary on the Psalms and on other holy books. For that man of God was profound in all respects and accomplished in oratory. Filled with the Spirit, he ended his life to the glory and praise of the Trinity*⁵⁶.

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CHAPTER 70

Concerning Valens's maltreatment of Peter; and Lucius of the Arians occupies the churches

[IV, 21]⁵⁷ Now after his death *Valens, who was wrathful at the orthodox*, made known⁵⁸ to Alexandria and Egypt. He sent word to the eparch to arrest Peter and cast him into prison, and to scatter the clergy of the church; and that the Arian Lucius should hold all the churches, *and the people who did not agree with ours*⁵⁹ *should be afflicted with various torments.*

[IV, 22]⁶⁰ When Peter heard this, he fled to Rome. Then Lucius, taking control of the see, displayed many vexations to the people of God. Some he tortured, some he persecuted, some he imprisoned, some he exiled.

[327] He disturbed Alexandria and all Egypt and the congregations of the orthodox. He also waged war on the solitaries⁶¹, and tormented those holy ones with various tortures. *But they displayed the right faith and were not led astray to Arianism.*

⁵⁶ For the works by Athanasius known in Armenian translations see Anasyan, I, 321-368, and Thomson, *A Bibliography*, 36-37. The texts published by Tayec'i are identified in Thomson, *Athanasiana Syriaca*, I, ix-x.

⁵⁷ IV, 21: In SI/Soc: "Lucius is appointed to Alexandria by Valens." Cf. p. 296 above.

⁵⁸ Made known: *յայտնէր*, or "revealed." This makes little sense here. Perhaps it is a confusion with the *յարդարէր* of SI: "[Euzoius] prepared [to go to Alexandria]," which SII omits.

⁵⁹ See the Introduction, 25-26, for other additions in the first person.

⁶⁰ IV, 22: In SI/Soc: "Peter flees to Rome; attacks on the solitaries."

⁶¹ Solitaries: *միայնակեցեալք*. Soc has *μοναστήρια*, rendered in SI by *միայնարանս*, "hermitages." See the Introduction, 22, for the use of monastic vocabulary in SII.

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CHAPTER 71

Concerning the asceticism and life of the pious Amoun

[IV, 23]⁶² I think it important to give a brief account of the ascetics who at that time were *hermits*⁶³ in Egypt, *who perhaps had their origin from Paul and Antony as their own Histories explained, which the blessed Athanasius wrote*⁶⁴. They expanded and multiplied from the pious Amoun⁶⁵. He from his youth, *being holy and refined like choice silver, according to the saying of the psalmist*⁶⁶, rejected marriage. According to the opinion of some, reckoning it impure, he refused [to marry]. But being forced by many to marry, [329] he came as far as the bridal-chamber and persuaded his virgin [wife] to remain in holiness. "Because virginity is true, he said, *it has affinity with the angels*⁶⁷, and in order to be pure in body and spirit the virgin cares for the Lord *in order to be pure in body and spirit*⁶⁸. But the married woman is concerned with the cares of this world. *Behold, they are separated from each other, the married woman [living] in this world, though joined with each other*⁶⁹. But the virgin, united with God, cares for heavenly things, who is preserved among those who hope in Christ. [330] *And how many troubles does marriage have, cares obvious and invisible, buffetings which no one can number or wish for!* How the freedom of virgins is untroubled by cares and preoccupations, and remains always [directed] to the important things of Christ!"

Expressing these arguments, and even more such, he persuaded the virgin. They both preserved holiness, and in this way remained pure. When the days of the wedding had passed, *Amoun said to the virgin*⁷⁰:

⁶² IV, 23: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Amoun and other solitaries."

⁶³ Hermits: *αἰσιμαστωληρῶν*, "living in the desert," not in SI. Ascetics: *ἐρημιτῶν*, as SI, the standard Armenian term.

⁶⁴ See just below for a reference, also in SI/Soc, to Athanasius's *Life of Antony*. But Athanasius did not write a life of this Paul, nor is he mentioned in his writings. It is Jerome's *Life of Paul* which refers to the latter's contacts with Antony. Soc has no reference to a hermit Paul.

⁶⁵ Amoun: "Amon," for "Ammous" in SI. SII confuses Amoun with Ammon on p. 346.

⁶⁶ Ps. 11. 7.

⁶⁷ For the comparison of virgins with angels see Lampe, s.v. *παρθένος*, with further references s.v. *ἄγγελος* for the ascetic life as that of angels.

⁶⁸ The repetition is no doubt a scribal error.

⁶⁹ This sentence in SII is unclear. This section is somewhat expanded, rather than abbreviated, though the general argument remains true to SI/Soc.

⁷⁰ According to SI/Soc it is the virgin bride who proposes the following to Amoun.

“It is not right that we, who have dedicated our virginity to God, should stay living together. Separating from each other, let us perfect our purity in the fear of God.” After he had said this, they lived for a short time with each other in holiness, then separated from each other and completed their lives as ascetics with continuous prayers, always fasting, and tasting [only] dry bread *and a little water* each day. After his death the soul of Amoun went to heaven accompanied by angels, as was seen by Antony. This he states in his *Life*, which was composed by Athanasius for the exhortation of solitaries⁷¹.

[331] It happened that when he was going to cross the river *Nile* to the mountain, it seemed oppressive to see his own nakedness. In his doubt he prayed. And then suddenly he found himself transferred across the river by angels. *Many other miracles of his are related. He lived ninety years*⁷² *in heroic style and purity to the glory and praise of the Lord omnipotent.*

[332] Many were encouraged to emulation of him, *and waxed very powerful in battle with the demons.* The mountain of Scete was filled with a multitude of solitaries, *and pious men*⁷³ *composed the lives of many of them. They described the lives of the saints, the achievement of their asceticism, as they lived a religious life*⁷⁴ *in accordance with apostolic conduct as instruction for ascetics in battles against the demons. For whom there is no praise from mankind, but from the Lord of all.*

CHAPTER 72

The lives of the holy men, the ascetics

One of the fathers⁷⁵ did not exclude [from communion] youths who had sinned, but [only] those who had progressed [in years], saying: “An excommunicated youth becomes disdainful; but the one advanced [in years] by separation is sensible of his sin and becomes anxious for amendment in those things for which he was condemned.”

⁷¹ According to the *Life of Antony*, §60 [Armenian in Tayec’i, 587] Antony saw Amoun’s soul ascending, but there is no reference there to angels, as in Soc, followed by SI and SII.

⁷² According to SI/Soc it was “another monk, Didymus,” who lived for ninety years.

⁷³ Pious men: See p. 337 below for Evagrius, from whom Socrates says he took most of this information.

⁷⁴ Lived a religious life: *կրաւնաւորեալք*. See the Introduction, 22, for the monastic vocabulary in SII.

⁷⁵ This is Arsios. As so often, SII avoids names.

Another brother⁷⁶ used to eat as he was going along the road. [333] Another asked him: "Why do you eat in this fashion and not sitting down?" He said: "I do not wish to approach my necessary food as if it were some needful task; and also lest in my eating some bodily desire rebuke my soul."

Now another of the fathers⁷⁷ said: "For the past forty years I was not receptive of evil thoughts which might harm my soul, *and I have overcome these through the grace of God by continually beseeching the Creator.*"

CHAPTER 73 Concerning Papas

A certain brother⁷⁸, not knowing the psalm, began to learn: "*Blessed is the man who has [not] walked in the thoughts of the impious, who has not gone on the path of sinners nor sat in the seats of the wicked, [334] but whose desire is for the law of the Lord. He will ponder on his law by day and by night like a tree planted beside waters.*"⁷⁹ He said: "Having learned this I shall carry it out, and shall come again." His name was Papas. *Going on his way, he gave to a certain person fifty gold talents. Immediately he gave them to the poor*⁸⁰. Being asked: "How much did you give?" he said: "God has no need of numbers, but an honest will."

Athanasius begged the same brother to go to Alexandria. On going there he saw a woman actress, burst into tears and wept bitterly. When asked: "Why do you weep thus?" he said: "Two things moved me: one, the destruction of this woman; and the other, because [335] I am not as *worthy of God* as this one is of her paramours."⁸¹ *They said concerning this father that he was completely formed in the religious life*⁸² *of the ascetics, so that God glorified him on earth; because his face shone like that of Moses, whose luminous face no one was able to see or look upon*⁸³.

⁷⁶ This is Pion.

⁷⁷ This is Isidore.

⁷⁸ This is Pambos, whose name has been garbled in the title and just below.

⁷⁹ Ps. 1. 1-3. But in SI/Soc reference is made to Psalm 38, of which v. 1 is quoted.

⁸⁰ SII has changed the text of SI/Soc: Someone gave fifty gold talents to Pambos for the poor, and asked him to count them.

⁸¹ SII has altered SI/Soc: "I do not make so much effort to please God as she does to please her obscene men."

⁸² Religious life: *ἡρωικὴ*; see the Introduction, 22.

⁸³ Cf. Ex. 34. 29-30.

CHAPTER 74
Concerning Arsenius

Now this father⁸⁴ said: "The solitary who does not perform his daily work will be judged by the righteous judge, Christ."

Petirus said there are many forms of natural [philosophy]. *Sometimes one, [sometimes] another debated with us*⁸⁵ [336] *to learn each one of the maxims of the saints, and through prayer and fasting to gain the victory.*

CHAPTER 75
Concerning the Macarii

There were two pious men with the same name, Macarius. One was from Upper Egypt, and the other from Alexandria.

Both were ascetics, and virtuous and renowned for their pious labours and way of life. Through them God demonstrated many miracles. The Egyptian one demonstrated healings especially, and cured many afflicted by a demon. His Life [would need] a separate composition to include completely all his virtues. He was a teacher and behaved severely towards his pupils. But the Alexandrian one *in a vision reprimanded him. From then on he*⁸⁶ *was of good humour and filled with affability; and he taught the young thoughtfully.*

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CHAPTER 76
Concerning Evagrius

Evagrius was studious from his youth. He was educated in Constantinople and studied the philosophical arts in theory only. A pupil of Gregory *the Theologian*⁸⁷, he progressed in mental accomplishments and

⁸⁴ The name Arsenius appears in the text of SI/Soc.

⁸⁵ See the Introduction, 25-26, for such first person references. Here Evagrius is intended; see just below.

⁸⁶ The addition in SII changes the sense! In SI/Soc the Egyptian one was austere, the Alexandrian was of good humour. See further p. 352 for these Macarii.

⁸⁷ The theologian: for "Nazianzenus" in SI/Soc.

was ordained to the diaconate. He had occasion to go to Alexandria⁸⁸; and on reading the lives of the fathers he became zealous to emulate them. He absorbed their lives and heroism, *and became foremost of all in fighting demons*⁸⁹, [evil] thoughts and sin, and was most superior in virtue. In conformity with his victorious struggles he composed useful homilies. The one entitled "Concerning Actions," [338] has one hundred chapters⁹⁰. But "The Gnostic," which means "the Intellectual,"⁹¹ directed to those worthy of knowledge, has fifty chapters. Now the third, "Refutation," from the holy scriptures against tempting demons, is divided into eight sections according to the number of the eight arguments. And [he wrote] "Problems," which is "The Gnostic,"⁹² and two verse works dealing successively with monks⁹³ and *the triumphs of solitaries*⁹⁴, so that those knowledgeable in these matters, on reading them may recognise their meaning.

CHAPTER 77

Concerning Antony and some others

I think it appropriate to record a little of his [sayings], [339] *as he states in the treatise*⁹⁵, the former admonitions of the fathers true in words and accomplished in behaviour. One of them said the following: "The acquisition of very dry and rough nourishment, combined in us with fear of God, rapidly brings man to the pure passionless state." Another said: "What one did in anger, by humility [and] gentleness will restrain him from wrath and restore to love, which binds brothers together." One of the brothers was [suffering from] night-illusions. On confessing, he was advised to take precautions in fasting and private prayer. Sealing his senses with faith, he was ordered to be perpetually in the fear of God.

⁸⁸ Alexandria: as SI; but "Egypt" in Soc.

⁸⁹ For additions concerning demons see the Introduction, 21.

⁹⁰ For the Greek texts and the Armenian versions of these Evagrius texts see the *Index of Patristic Texts*.

⁹¹ Which means the Intellectual: *որ է ծանաղական*, as in SI.

⁹² Problems... Gnostic: *որ ծանաղական է առակք*, misinterpreted (in light of the previous "Gnostic") from *ն ծանաղական առակք*, "600 Prognostic Problems" in SI.

⁹³ Monks: *միաբանական*, for the *միաբան վարողս*, "those living together," in SI.

⁹⁴ Solitaries: *միայնացեալք*. SII misinterprets the double title of the first of these verse works, and omits the second verse work, "On the Virgin."

⁹⁵ I.e. Evagrius. Hansen, note ad loc, refers to the *Practicus*, but that text was not translated into Armenian.

One of the philosophers said to Antony: "How can you bear being deprived of the consolation of books?" He said: "My book is *the meaning of scripture imprinted in me*⁹⁶, [340] which is understood through the grace of God." *He reckoned it a vessel of election for him*⁹⁷.

An Egyptian, he says, asked me: "How is rancour preserved among mankind?" He said: "The strength of the soul is corrupted. For demons, rancour is harm." I was confused at his answers and begged to be instructed. Then he said: "The first passion is outside nature, and the second is in conformity with anger, which it is right to show to the demons."

I went to father Macarius. Sitting in the shade I became very thirsty, and asked for some water. He said: "You should be content with the shade, because many who have laboured are deprived of both water and shade." Then I asked *with an oath* concerning his endurance. He said: "My son, for twenty years I have not taken a satiety of bread or water or wine. For my bread and water were in moderation, and for sleep I had need of only a few [hours]."

To one of the brothers⁹⁸ the death of his father in the flesh was announced. But he said to the messenger: "Do not blaspheme, because my father is immortal." Another [brother] who possessed a gospel, [341] sold it and gave [the money] to the poor. He pronounced a saying worthy of record: "I have done what it always told me: Sell and give to the poor."⁹⁹ Another old man, elect in all respects, said that the monks did all their work for these five reasons¹⁰⁰: because of nature, because of custom, because of necessity, because of handiwork. Furthermore, the one virtue is praised, he said, according to nature, uniting them through the power of the Spirit. [342] For he says the light of the sun is formless, but on entering inside through the windows it naturally takes form.

Now one of the solitaries said: "Removing the pleasures of the mind from the body cuts off the causes of anger; for as it contends with the soul and confuses the mind, it takes it prisoner." One of the old men said: "Love does not keep a deposit of food [or] of shame."¹⁰¹ Another said: "Having been tempted by demons, I was not tempted a second time to the same things." These sayings Evagrius records¹⁰².

⁹⁶ The meaning of scripture: in SI/Soc: "the nature of created things."

⁹⁷ But in SI/Soc the "vessel of election" [cf. Acts 9. 15] is associated with Macarius, whose name is omitted by SII in the next sentence. For Macarius see just below.

⁹⁸ Soc does not name the solitaries mentioned in the next two paragraphs.

⁹⁹ Mt. 19. 21; Mk. 10. 21; Lk. 18. 22.

¹⁰⁰ Five reasons: SII omits the first reason in SI/Soc: "Because of God."

¹⁰¹ Shame: *αἰσχύνη*, as SI. "Money, χρημάτων," in Soc.

¹⁰² SII omits the reference to the *Practicus*.

Concerning the "Gnostic" we have learned the following sayings: four virtues and aspects from the holy and learned Gregory the Just, that they are wisdom, fortitude, [343] temperance and justice. The task of wisdom he says is to observe the spiritual and holy powers without words, because wisdom is distinguished from evil. Justice endures for truth and in the struggle does not turn vainly to non-reality. To receive seeds from the first husbandman and to store up those which are to be sown is the special task of temperance in accordance with modesty. But of justice again, it is to distinguish discourse for each person according to worthiness — declaring some things in hidden fashion, and indicating other things through signs, and revealing other things as truth for the help of the simple-minded.

CHAPTER 78

Concerning Basil, what he says about the providence of contingent knowledge

The pillar of the Cappadocians, Basil, said: [344] "Provident knowledge derived from mankind gives strength for vigilance of instruction. But that obtained from the grace of God [provides] justice and kindness and compassion. And it releases the former natural passion for peace. But only the receivers of the second are *undivided*¹⁰³. Hence at the time of prayer they see the familiar *word*¹⁰⁴ of the mind shining around them."

CHAPTER 79

Concerning Athanasius and Serapion, what they said about provident knowledge

The holy Illuminator of the Egyptians, Athanasius, said: [345] "Moses ordered the altar to be erected on the northern side¹⁰⁵. Let the gnostics recognise who is the one breathing odours upon them. Let them

¹⁰³ Undivided: Sic! SII has rendered the *ἠνῆψουν*, "devoid of passions," of SI as *ἠνῆζων*.

¹⁰⁴ Word: *μυρρῶν*, as SI [Sic!]. SI misunderstood, or misread, the Greek *φῆγγος*, "light, radiance," as *φθόγγος*, "voice, sound." No variant is noted in the Greek edition here.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Ex. 26. 35.

endure all trials valiantly and readily, which they will teach to their companions with discretion.”

The angel of the church, Serapion, said: “The mind, dazzled by spiritual knowledge, is purified completely. And love heals the ulcerous folly of anger. Whereas evil desire, springing up among some, teaches words of advice for endurance, [words] concerning the providence and eternal judgment of Christ.”

CHAPTER 80

What Didymus and others said

The great and knowledgeable teacher Didymus said: “Reflecting on these matters, exercise yourself¹⁰⁶; for nearly all sin through these. As for the saying concerning the judgment, let them heed the difference between body and mind and the example concerning providence, which lead us to the Lord, away from evil and ignorance and to knowledge of virtue.”

[346] These were recorded by Evagrius¹⁰⁷.

I also thought it appropriate to record here the deeds of Ammon, whom I mentioned above¹⁰⁸. He went to Rome with Athanasius, who had gone because of the persecutions. But Ammon went for no other reason than that he might see the tomb of Peter and Paul and their holy relics¹⁰⁹, and that he might glorify the Lord God through them. He was summoned to the episcopate, but he escaped and fled, and cut off his right ear so that by means of this disfigurement he might escape ordination and be and remain in a humble state. Now a little later Evagrius was summoned by Theophilus to the episcopate, but escaped and fled without inflicting any injury upon himself. [347] On meeting Ammon he greeted him and blamed him for acting wickedly in cutting off his ear. But he said: “You [did] a worse deed by cutting off your rational tongue

¹⁰⁶ Exercise yourself: reading *φηραδουζηρ* with SI. It has become *φηραδουζηου ηρη* in SII, which has no sense.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *Gnosticus*, 44-48, for the sayings of Athanasius, Serapion and Didymus..

¹⁰⁸ Ammon: “Amovn” for “Ammonios” in SI/Soc. This Ammon was not mentioned above, p. 328; SII has confused him with Amoun.

¹⁰⁹ MX, III, 62, refers to the tombs of Peter and Paul in his voyage to Rome, but says nothing about their relics. The saints and their tombs are not mentioned in notices about travels to Rome by Anania of Širak, *Autobiography*, or Step’annos of Siwnik’ [in Step’annos Orbelean, ch. 31].

for the sake of avoiding trouble; and you hid in the earth the grace of God's wisdom which had been given you."¹¹⁰

Many other men, pious and lovers of God and workers of miracles, were notable spiritual figures in the *hermitages*¹¹¹. It would be too long for us to describe them, were we to relate the lives of each one and how many miracles they performed because of the grace of Christ within them. If one wished to know the lives they led, and what they taught and did, and what they said for the profit of the audience — did not Palladius the solitary write the *Book of Solitaries*?¹¹² [348] He was a disciple of Evagrius, and related accurately everything about them, in which he speaks about holy women who took up lives of chastity and virtue. Evagrius and Palladius flourished *for the advantage of the orthodox faith in accordance with the true tradition of the holy fathers* after the death of Valens, *being conspicuous in word and writing. Here let us stop the descriptions of them and of others which we have noted*, and return to the theme of our History.

CHAPTER 81

How Macarius of Egypt and another Alexandrian¹¹³ converted the distant islands inhabited by barbarians, and illuminated them¹¹⁴

[IV, 24]¹¹⁵ Now the impious Valens made persecution by law after [349] the death of the blessed Athanasius, in Alexandria and in all Egypt. He persecuted and plundered the houses of the orthodox who did not submit. Some they [cast] into prison and bonds, and many others they tormented with various tortures. The leader of these evils was Lucius. Lucius went to the hermitages of Egypt and the general, provided with an army, accompanied him into the desert. *Not a single scruple preoccupied the impious Lucius*. He was even more basely inclined than the soldiers to evil and to tormenting the holy men, although he knew the

¹¹⁰ Cf. Mt. 25. 25.

¹¹¹ Hermitages: *մենաստանս*, for *միայնարտնս* in SI which renders the μοναστήρια of Soc.

¹¹² Book of Solitaries: *սոսանձնականաց գիրք*. The μονόβιβλον, "monograph," of Soc is rendered exactly in SI by *սոսաջինն գիրք*. However, the misrendering of SII does fit the subject matter of the *Lausiatic History*. There does not seem to be an Armenian version of this work.

¹¹³ I.e. the Alexandrian Macarius; cf. p. 336 above.

¹¹⁴ The titles to chs. 81 and 82 have been inverted in the printed edition.

¹¹⁵ IV, 24: In SI/Soc: "Persecutions in Egypt; conversion of a pagan island."

miracles and signs worked by them — the expulsion of demons and the cures of various diseases by them *all through the Lord and attested by the viewer*¹¹⁶.

[350] When Lucius arrived with the crowd [of soldiers] in the desert, they found them at their customary prayer. *Even so he had no compunction*, but did not allow them to finish their prayers to the glory of God. The soldiers, equipped with weapons, attacked and expelled them; and some they wounded and struck with the sword. Then the sayings by the apostle¹¹⁷ concerning them were clearly revealed by Lucius, *an Arian and a Pneumatomachos*. The holy ones were mocked by him and by those goaded on by him. They were subjected to tortures and bonds and prison. [351] Men who lived in the desert in leather and goat-skins, whom the world did not honour, were stoned and put to death with the sword, were sawn asunder, oppressed, and tormented. They lived in the desert, in mountains, and in caverns of the earth, *fleeing from this turbulent life to be near to God and continually engaged in blessing God*.

All these were testified by their faith and holy practices, with miracles and healing. They did not receive relief from them. But the providence of God preserved them in the faith, and they received the crown of victory from Christ. They were shown as warriors superior to their wickedness, and they rushed to torments and death. Because the general and his army were amazed, [352] and Lucius was vexed, he ordered two of them, who were renowned fathers with the same name¹¹⁸,

CHAPTER 82

*How Valens made persecution at the instigation of Lucius after the death of Athanasius*¹¹⁹

a certain Macarius of Egypt and an Alexandrian one, to be exiled to distant inhabited *islands*¹²⁰. The inhabitants of that island were numerous and barbarians; not a single one was a Christian. There was a famous temple in it in which the altar [was dedicated] to the demons as

¹¹⁶ By the viewer: This is a misleading reference to the statement just below in SI/Soc, omitted by SII, that Rufinus saw these attacks.

¹¹⁷ The following torments are taken verbatim from Heb. 11. 36-39.

¹¹⁸ The title of the next chapter interrupts the sentence! These Macarii were also described earlier in IV, 13, p. 336.

¹¹⁹ This is the title for the previous chapter.

¹²⁰ Islands: sing. in SI/Soc.

gods. The [priest] of the temple was said to be like God and was honoured by the barbarians.

Now when these holy pious men arrived there, the demons in it were terrified because the following had happened. The daughter of the temple-priest, having been seized by demons, went mad and persecuted many. [353] No one was able to contain her. She cried out with a loud scream, shouting to the holy fathers: "Why have you come here to expel us, O servants of God?" They approached and told her to stop. *And looking up to heaven, they raised their hands and requested visitation from the Lord of all.* Then immediately the demons vanished and the maiden was cured.

They entrusted her to her father the temple-priest. And he believed with all his house in God and in his servants; likewise all the inhabitants of that island. They threw out the idols and refurbished the temple of idols as a church. Having baptised many, *they communicated to them the body and blood of the Lord*¹²¹. They joyfully gave thanks and praised God. [354] They taught them the rituals of the Christians *and the right faith in the consubstantial Trinity.* In this way the wonderful holy fathers, having been selected and exiled, made many worshippers and glorifiers of the all-holy Trinity.

CHAPTER 83

Concerning the writings of the famous Didymus and his very prudent intelligence

[IV, 25]¹²² Now there was a certain other father famous for virtue and knowledge in those times, Didymus by name, *who is also remembered by Evagrius*¹²³. *He kept intact the faith in consubstantiality, a man wonderful in knowledge and eloquence, well known to all.* [355] Through his teaching God demonstrated most faithfully the orthodox faith of the church, *which he preached to all, far and near, in writing and orally, making all participate in the luminous teaching which that holy man of God possessed by God's grace.* When Didymus was young and learning

¹²¹ See the Introduction, 20, for other additions concerning communion.

¹²² IV, 25: "Concerning Didymus the Blind."

¹²³ Soc does not mention Evagrius in this chapter. Although he does mention him above, p. 345, Soc is here relying on Rufinus, whom he mentions as source in IV, 24; SII omits that reference. SII only once names Rufinus, p. 42, supposing him to be the bishop of Nicomedia [sic!].

the first letters of *the poets*, disease attacked his sight and he was deprived of vision. But God, in place of physical sight, illuminated with grace his understanding. He did not learn through the eyes, but by listening he attained profound knowledge of the earlier philosophers.

From youth he was erudite, [356] and he overcame the contentious through his fine and acute intelligence. He explained accurately and correctly the rules of grammar and was soon rivalling the orators. He was well informed in the rhetorical arts, and by listening was wonderfully versed in the philosophical ones. He learned *dialectic*¹²⁴ and arithmetic and music, and was replete with other philosophical studies, so that he was prepared for those who purloined the truth.

He accurately expounded the Old and New Testaments as no one else could, so that he was able to produce books of commentary on them, and also on Origen's "Concerning Origins,"¹²⁵ recording in them through what he compiled that they are pleasingly written, [357] and that those who impute that man and are anxious to reject his writings are opposing him in vain. For it is not at all possible, he says, [for them] to penetrate the man's intelligence. Consequently, if anyone should wish to know the great learning and warmth of heart of Didymus, let him learn from his profound [writings].

It is said¹²⁶ that in former times Antony met Didymus when he went down to Alexandria from the desert concerning the Arians, and comprehending the man's intelligence said to him: "Let not the extinction of your physical eyes trouble you, O Didymus, which flies and mosquitoes can harm. But rejoice because you have spiritual eyes, whereby you resemble the vision of angels, [358] through which the *holy Trinity*¹²⁷ is seen and preached by you for the orthodox faith." This was previously spoken by Antony as if in prophecy¹²⁸. He also came to Alexandria in the time of Valens, censuring and opposing the Arians and destroying their vain wisdom in which they boasted, deceiving their praisers. *Now he fought against them through grace-filled argument, and confirmed the orthodox faith. They were unable to resist his wise, grace-filled words. In this fashion, victorious in everything, he was famous and glorious as a giver of grace among the orthodox faithful.*

¹²⁴ Dialectic: reading *սրածարանական* with SI. The *միարանական*, "common, united," of SII makes no sense in this context.

¹²⁵ See *Clavis*, I, no. 1482 for editions of Origen's *Peri Archon*. No Armenian version is known.

¹²⁶ Socrates does not here name Rufinus; see Hansen's note ad loc.

¹²⁷ Holy Trinity: for "God," in SI/Soc.

¹²⁸ Prophecy: for such additions in SII see the Introduction, 19.

CHAPTER 84

Concerning the life and history of Saint Basil

[IV, 26]¹²⁹ Now in other cities and provinces it is written that in the whole world [the most famous were] Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus [359] *who was called "the Theologian" because of his exceeding grace of theology*¹³⁰. *These were of the same inspiration and like-minded*¹³¹ *in faith, behaviour, disposition and religion. Therefore I think it appropriate to say a little about these renowned and famous holy men, spiritual [fathers]. And let no one blame me for the brevity of their record, for by the praises of many these blessed ones were elevated to honour, and their intelligence and splendour to the glory of God are revealed by the writings of them both*¹³².

They were accomplished in rhetoric and wisdom, *and filled with the Spirit. In the faith they were bravely valiant, and in their lives even more praiseworthy. At that time many in their churches, as in a fortress*¹³³, *were saved from the sparks of the fire of the persecutors through their orthodox faith. My desire demands even more to make mention of them — of Basil, I mean, and of Gregory, although my speech is feeble in comparison with the lives of them both — in order to record briefly examples of their virtues. [360] Both of them shone out like suns*¹³⁴, *illuminating the churches of the orthodox to the glory of God. They both were similar in beneficence in accordance with their true behaviour. They had fully acquired for themselves the meaning of the scriptures; nor did they neglect the useful profane philosophers. Thereby they defeated their opponents with knowledge like brave men armed for battle.*

¹²⁹ IV, 26: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Basil of Caesarea and Gregory Nazianzenus." Akinean, "P'ok'r Sokrat," 50-54, points to some parallels of wording in other Armenian hagiographical texts, but does not isolate any major source for the additions in SII.

¹³⁰ The theologian: cf. above, p. 311. This epithet for Gregory is not used by Socrates. According to Lampe, s.v. θεολόγος, the earliest attestation is in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Philostorgius [first half of the fifth century], but that only survives in a later reworking. It is a standard title in Armenian writers, e.g. Lazar, *Letter*, 192: "Gregory Nazianzenus, who for the excellence of the grace of orthodox knowledge he possessed was named 'the theologian'."

¹³¹ Same inspiration and like-minded: cf. Philipp. 2. 2.

¹³² For Armenian versions of their writings and secondary literature see Thomson, *A Bibliography*, s.v. For later Armenian Lives see VV, I, 220-245 [Basil] and 284-316 [Gregory, but incomplete]. Their works mentioned by SII are listed in the *Index of Patristic Texts* below.

¹³³ For a selection of the numerous metaphors applied to the church see Lampe, s.v. ἐκκλησία, F.

¹³⁴ Cf. p. 344 above, of Athanasius as a "luminary."

When they were youths they went to Athens and studied the arts of the philosophers there. After that [they went] to Antioch in Syria, [361] and gathered for themselves the learning of the sophists. *And they totally surpassed them through the wisdom that these splendid and worthy ones possessed; and reckoning what was superfluous as dross*¹³⁵, they rejected it with disdain.

Renowned in every way, they were revealed as famous; and they were entreated by many people to engage in teaching in accordance with all the knowledge transmitted to them. But they despised the occupations of this world and chose the life of solitaries, *in deserts and mountains, dressed in hair-shirts, in prayer and fasting and vigils, and ascetic practices with tears in pious exercises*¹³⁶. *By none of the opposing passions were they distracted or led astray, but in everything they overcame their opponents and received the grace of victory from the Lord. They transmitted admonitions to all hermits*¹³⁷ and town-dwellers.

Having consequently attained spiritual grace in accordance with their deep wisdom, after multifarious virtuous activities in Christ Jesus, [362] they gathered the writings of Origen, and from them confirmed the interpretations of the divine scriptures. They received the demonstrations of truth, and throughout the whole world sowed profitable words. The Arians accepted the [works] of Origen in testimony as a support for themselves, and were therefore well-versed in Origen because through him they refuted them. They thought him a witness to their own sect. But they [Basil and Gregory] publicly exposed their deceit in order to make it known — that of the Arians, I mean, and of the Arianising Eunomians, *poets and orators as they were supposed. But since they were totally inferior to the blessed Basil and Gregory, they could not openly enter into dispute with them. Wherefore Valens too respected their way of life and wisdom.*

Then after that Basil was *forcibly*¹³⁸ ordained to the rank of deacon by Meletius, *patriarch of Antioch. And later he was promoted to the rank of priest. [363]* *And by their confirmation in priestly rank they appeared most perfect in the diaconate and in spiritual life and in religious life and in the priesthood after many things*¹³⁹. After this they summoned

¹³⁵ Cf. Philipp. 3. 8.

¹³⁶ Cf. the parallels in Koriwn's *Life of Maštoc*, §4-5: hair-shirts, vigils, ascetic life with tears, pious exercises.

¹³⁷ Hermits: *անապատականս*, "desert-dwellers," as p. 68. See the Introduction, 22, for monastic vocabulary in the Armenian versions of Socrates.

¹³⁸ Forcibly: see the Introduction, 20, for such additions in SII.

¹³⁹ This last sentence is garbled, not least by the introduction of the plural "they" [i.e. both Basil and Gregory].

him to the episcopate of his own land, Caesarea of Cappadocia, with many entreaties and insistence¹⁴⁰. *He accepted in accordance with the influence of the Spirit, not enticed to honour but as to death, understanding spiritually the highest things. But divine providence summoned him and glorified him. He continually increased in the Lord's work in preaching the faith against the heretics. And his life in the world and in the desert adorned his teaching for the illumination of the church. [364] He built religious houses¹⁴¹ in his own diocese, and he gathered those who remained [as hermits] under one oversight into a common life, to praise the all-holy Trinity with one mouth.*

He defined rules for them and canons to observe, worthy of the heavenly calling, so that they should lead a religious life worthily in accordance with the gospel of Christ, to be involved in heroic deeds of piety in accordance with the preaching of the apostles. These, by the testimony of "To the Questioners,"¹⁴² contain answers, individual antidotes to harmful things, as his own compositions indicate for whoever was ordained throughout the whole world, those who observe that same way of life. He also composed instructive books and commentaries on the scriptures and Psalms, which irradiate much profit and powerful intelligence concerning the faith and right-minded behaviour¹⁴³.

[365] When Valens heard this, he bore a grudge and wished to destroy his luminous rules for the religion of [true] faith. He ordered saint Basil to be brought in haste. When he stood before Valens¹⁴⁴, he questioned and tested him concerning the faith. But Basil mocked the king's faith and confirmed that of consubstantiality by the suitable testimony of the holy scriptures; and no one was able to respond. The eparch threatened death because of the saint's outspokenness. Basil said: "If Christ were to make me worthy to bear witness for the true faith, I would reckon myself blessed." The eparch said: "If you do not agree, you will attain

¹⁴⁰ Basil was consecrated bishop in 370.

¹⁴¹ Religious houses: *հրանաւորանոցս*, for the *δένωρα* of SI which correctly renders ἀσκητήρια. *Կրանաւոր* is a common term for someone in the religious life, but *հրանաւորանոց* is rare. In Step'annos Taronec'i [Asohik], III, 8, it refers to coenobitic monasteries. In the *Kanonagirk'*, II, 14, Canon 18 of the council of Part'aw, held in 768, it seems to be equated with the most usual term for a monastery, *վանք*.

¹⁴² For this text, the *Asceticon Magnum*, see *Clavis*, II, no. 2875; the somewhat divergent Armenian version of this text has been edited and studied by Uluhogian, *Il Libro delle Domande*.

¹⁴³ For Armenian MSS with texts by (or attributed to) Basil see Anasyan, II, 1344-1405.

¹⁴⁴ According to SI/Soc, Valens had Basil brought before the prefect in Antioch. Note the reference just below to the prefect.

what you desire."¹⁴⁵ Basil said: "I stand immoveable, believing in the faith. Let the emperor do whatever is pleasing to him." The emperor ordered Basil to be taken off to prison, while considering what he might do.

[366] Now the emperor's son, who was at a young age, fell ill. And since the doctors after many medicines provided no help for the child, they despaired of his life. Then the child's mother, queen Dominica, advised Valens about terrifying night [visions] and the death of the child. She said that the cause of this was the man of God Basil, "who was imprisoned by you." When he heard this, he summoned Basil from prison and said to him: "If your faith and religion are true, pray that my child may live." The blessed Basil said: "If you believe *with your whole heart in the holy Trinity*, and you unite everyone in [367] *faith in the consubstantial Trinity and one Divinity*, your child will live. But if not, *I cannot be [of help] in this.*" Valens did not accept *faith in the consubstantial Trinity*. But *being honoured by the saint as someone most awesome*¹⁴⁶, he dismissed him to go to *his own place*. After those days the child departed this life.

CHAPTER 85

*Concerning the life of Gregory of Nazianzus called "the Theologian"*¹⁴⁷

Gregory of Nazianzus *was even more adorned with rhetorical grace and wisdom in Christ. He expressed most beautifully the meaning of theology and of the confession in the Father and the Son and the holy Spirit, in writing and orally, in cities*¹⁴⁸ *and provinces. He distinguishes the three Persons, Father, Son and holy Spirit. And again he unites them with distinction in the one Divinity. He fashions most splendid [works] with amazing intelligence and with fitting visions of things spiritual; with brief words he casts out the wicked and confirms the good. None of the heretics could oppose his rational arguments, or have the confidence*

¹⁴⁵ This is a standard riposte of judge to martyr. Cf. Trdat to Gregory, Aa §61: "I shall quickly send you where you wish to go."

¹⁴⁶ Honoured: *ὑποτιμωθεῖσθαι*; the MSS A G D read *ὑποτιμωθεῖσθαι*, "shamed."

¹⁴⁷ SII returns to an earlier section of IV, 26. For the title "the theologian" see p. 358.

¹⁴⁸ According to SI/Soc, Gregory "went to cities, strengthening the sluggish." For what follows in SII, Akinean, "P'ok'r Sokrat," 54, points to a few phrases also found in other hagiographical texts.

to take the fortresses of his profound wisdom. [368] For in everything he was right-thinking and of good counsel, and very intelligent and skilled in rhetoric. He admonished the habits of the unbridled, and purified [them] of foolish sects, and gathered them to the fold of the orthodox away from the various manifestations of Arians, and Pneumatomachoi, and all the collected schisms which wickedly divide and separate from the true faith.

Having in this way shown himself to be notable in theology, he was called "the Theologian." He did not accede to the summons of the priesthood, but fled from the awesome duties. But on being forced by his father, who was a bishop, and being adorned with virtue, at the will of Basil and of many others he was obliged [to be ordained]¹⁴⁹. Accepting it, he was anointed in the church which had been built by his father. On this occasion he dedicated a treatise to his father and the people, confessing his debt; and because of the grace of the priesthood, "I opened my mouth, he said, and received the Spirit." Thus he progressed, luminous by unction and the Spirit, and splendid through his theology, and most graceful through his rhetoric¹⁵⁰.

Therefore a little later he was called to the episcopacy of the church of God which had been his father's see — which again "Unction and the Spirit" mention — himself saddened and grieved at the greatness of the rank, [369] and at the mediation of God and mankind, and the awe inherent therein, and the doubts which occupied his mind. A little later [by] the election of grace he was appointed overseer of many bishops in Constantinople¹⁵¹, although he did not so wish. But in order to correct those weak in faith there, he obeyed a little, holding the position of locum-tenens until the council [convened] by Theodosius concerning the Pneumatomachoi. In those times he did not cease from teaching [against] what was a perversion of philosophy, and what belonged to other doctrines of Arians and Eunomians and Pneumatomachoi, and other sects opposed to the true God.

¹⁴⁹ For the theme of being forced to ordination see the Introduction, 20.

¹⁵⁰ The Armenian version of Gregory of Nazianzen's *Orations* is in the course of publication. For a general introductory study see Lafontaine and Coulie, 1983. The texts are being published in *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*. For the Greek texts see *Clavis*, II, no. 3010. Muradyan, *Grigor Nazianzac'in*, has studied the general influence of Gregory's works in Armenia, but he does not discuss the adaptation of Socrates [SII]; he refers occasionally to Soc/SI for information about Gregory.

¹⁵¹ Overseer of many bishops: For "overseer," *վերակացու*, cf. above p. 123. But in Soc: "by the choice of many bishops he became prelate [προέστη, rendered in SI as *ստաջնորդ եղև*]."

This man's valour and courage you may learn from his writings. You will recognise how splendid and elevated and notable he was, and thus you will believe in the faith of consubstantiality and in the single Godhead of Father and Son and holy Spirit. Concerning the dispensation of Christ, and baptism and our illumination, and the resurrection from the dead, and the eternal judgment, so many homilies have been composed by him. Do not be unaware of the measure of grace given to him from above, because it was altogether incomparable. Not only was he praised for his theology, but also for the histories of the saints, as his own homilies indicate — that on Athanasius, I mean, on Basil and on Gregory, and his father and brother and sister, [370] and Cyprian, and the Maccabees, and the very long homily against the wicked plans of Julian. And he made the funeral oration on the bishop of Antioch, Meletius, at Constantinople¹⁵². I omit the majority, as it is well known to everyone what were composed by him.

These few [words] have been spoken concerning the holy men Basil and Gregory the Theologian.

CHAPTER 86

Concerning Peter and Gregory, the brothers of Basil

Basil had two brothers similar to him in grace, Peter and Gregory. Peter chose the *anachoretic*¹⁵³ life, *separated from the world; he was near to God through his ascetic prowess. Totally righteous in religion, agitated by nothing, he remained always bound to the love of God. But Gregory undertook teaching, and became no less notable than his brothers [371] in giving instruction through the interpretation of all scripture*¹⁵⁴.

The nine beatitudes of Christ, and the meaning of prayer, and the Vanity of Vanities by Solomon, and on the Song of Songs; and the history on Gregory the Wonderworker; and concerning the Formation of Man, which was left incomplete by Basil — after the Hexaemeron he died and the latter completed it. And many more homilies he delivered,

¹⁵² Soc refers to this funeral oration at the end of ch. 26, and attributes it to Gregory of Nyssa. For the text see *Clavis*, II, no. 3180, s.v. Gregory of Nyssa.

¹⁵³ Anachoretic: *անապատական* [cf. above, n. 137], for *միայնական*, “solitary,” in SI/Soc.

¹⁵⁴ The Armenian versions of Gregory of Nyssa's works remain mostly unpublished; see Thomson, *A Bibliography*, 57. For the Greek texts see *Clavis*, II, s.v.

collected into a book, more than those we have mentioned of Basil and Gregory the Theologian. For in everything he was not behind them, in grace of virtue I mean and knowledge. Then he was summoned to the grace of episcopacy and held the see of Nyssa, not rushing to it himself or forced by men, but through God's providence and the worthy choice of wise men which is in accordance with God. Thus he received the episcopate and became very notable and victorious against the sects of heretics. He said the same as the orthodox¹⁵⁵, and wrote treatises on the faith and on the rites and practices of the church of God in accordance with the thought of the orthodox.

Thus I have spoken a little about him [372] as about Basil and the Theologian.

CHAPTER 87

Concerning Gregory of Pontus called the Wonderworker, and concerning the Gregories, that is, the Theologian, of Nyssa, the Wonderworker

[IV, 27]¹⁵⁶ There was another Gregory, of Pontus, who had previously studied with Origen. Not ambiguously, but rightly, many miracles are related concerning him in Pontus and the whole land. For where he was involved in teaching *from envy he was slandered concerning a woman; a miracle of the demonic spirit reprimanded them in regard to the possessed woman, and thereby she was cured*¹⁵⁷. Then he came to Origen and the divine books interpreted by him; and he learned from him the demonstration of true wisdom, and comprehending all his wisdom he collected in his mind the most important. He went [back] on being summoned by his parents, and became wondrously famous in everything. *He was forced by Phedimus [373] and received ordination by the providence of God. To him he entrusted the episcopacy of oversight.*

He begged God to reveal to him the faith in the holy Trinity in a revelation of the mystery. It was shown to him in a vision of the theological

¹⁵⁵ He said the same as the orthodox: զնոյն սակր զուղղափառացն, the meaning of which is not clear.

¹⁵⁶ IV, 27: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Gregory the Wonderworker."

¹⁵⁷ See the Armenian Life of Gregory, VV, I, 317-331: p. 318 for the possessed woman, 319 for Phedimus, 320 for the statement on the Trinity, 323 for the miracles of the sea and rivers.

mystery, in writing by John the Evangelist, which is the confession in the Father and the Son and the holy Spirit, nothing less than what is preached in the gospels, but even more. He distinguishes the one Divinity into Persons, and unites [them] according to nature in a wonderful theology¹⁵⁸ in the Father, Son and holy Spirit, whereby in his writing it is confirmed in the church of Neocaesarea, which was his see.

From this [man] I say Basil and the Gregories were led, and these were nourished in the same faith, although they surpassed [him] through the influence of grace. Thus he became wonderful, cast out demons — some by prayer and others through a letter of command or word¹⁵⁹ — and [374] many people he turned to knowledge of God. He made the sea dry through prayer, and prevented damage of rivers with a rod taken from a root. The Lord demonstrated many miracles and wonders through Gregory, as those who wish may learn in the histories¹⁶⁰. Because of the great number of wonders of this Gregory he was called “the Wonderworker.”¹⁶¹ The Gregory of Nazianzus, the “Theologian,” is different; he accurately [expounded] the force and glory of the divine [scriptures]. And different again is Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, the brother of Basil. I omit discussion of Gregory the Arian who in the persecution of Athanasius held the see of Alexandria, and was again exiled¹⁶².

These three are famous: first Gregory the Wonderworker at an earlier time. Gregory the Theologian and Gregory of Nyssa, Basil’s brother, were notable at the same time, elect in faith and in lives of virtue. For not only in writing did they expound things profitable for the ears of men, but also in deeds they became very pleasing.

¹⁵⁸ Wonderful theology: Հրաշափառագոյն աստուածաբանութիւն. Cf. the Հրաշալի աստուածաբանութիւն, “marvellous exposition of the faith,” presented by Sahak before shah Vram, MX, III, 65. Here SII refers to the “Persons” of the Trinity; see p. 570 for “hypostases.”

¹⁵⁹ Cast out demons: see the Introduction, 21.

¹⁶⁰ Histories: i.e. the *Lives*. They were frequently rewritten and abbreviated, so which versions of these hagiographical texts were used by SII remains a problem to be investigated.

¹⁶¹ Soc distinguishes the four Gregories, but he does not use the expression “wonderworker.” For Gregory of Nyssa’s *Homily on Gregory Thaumaturgus* see *Clavis*, II, no. 3184.

¹⁶² For this Gregory see above, p. 126, 129.

[375]

CHAPTER 88

The origin of the Novatians, whereby they were separated from each other; and their celebrating the feast of Easter of unleavened bread with the Jews

[IV, 28]¹⁶³ I shall describe also the reasons for the manner in which the Novatians *are separated*. Novatian was a priest of the Roman church, and Cornelius the bishop¹⁶⁴. In the matter of those who during the persecutions of Decius sacrificed out of fear, Cornelius received into communion those who returned with penitence; but Novatian did not receive them. For such a reason he was ordained to the episcopate of the Phrygians. [376] He wrote to the *bishop*¹⁶⁵ not to receive into communion those who had succumbed in the persecution, but to urge them to repentance; forgiveness would come from God, who alone is able to forgive sins. His advice was not completely accepted. To some this appeared a cruel rule; but to others his remarks were just. So among them there was dispute.

Upon these events arrived a letter from Cornelius, to announce forgiveness for those who sinned after baptism, provided there was repentance, *and communion in the saving mystery*¹⁶⁶. At this time some remained on the side of Novatian's teaching and were called Novatians. The race of Phrygians appears more temperate¹⁶⁷ than most nations, [377] because among them fornication [is reckoned] foul and barbarous. Therefore one may see that [those in this] schism are more chaste in life than the other Phrygians. The feast of Easter they celebrated in accordance with other Christians from Novatian down to now.

[378] In the time of *Valentinian*¹⁶⁸ was held a council of Novatians where the sources of the river Sangarius are. There [were present] some insignificant bishops from among those in Phrygia, and they changed the feast of Easter to be celebrated with the Jews' feast of Unleavened Bread. For this cause the church of the Novatians was split.

¹⁶³ IV, 28: In SI/Soc: "Concerning the Novatians."

¹⁶⁴ Cornelius was bishop of Rome 251-253; the Decian persecution occurred in 249-250.

¹⁶⁵ Bishop: sic! for "churches" in SI/Soc.

¹⁶⁶ See the Introduction, 20, for additions involving communion.

¹⁶⁷ Temperate: *νηδυφουνε*, or "chaste," as just below.

¹⁶⁸ Valentinian: sic! by confusion with the next paragraph. SI/Soc read "Valerian," emperor 253-260. Novatian was martyred in 257/8.

[IV, 29]¹⁶⁹ The emperor Valentinian lived in tranquillity with regard to the churches, and did not himself disturb a single schismatic.

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CHAPTER 89

Concerning the episcopacy of Ambrose

[IV, 30]¹⁷⁰ Around those times the bishop died, and *the populace*¹⁷¹ was agitated over the choice of a bishop. Since the prince¹⁷² of the country, who held the rank of consul, named Ambrose, was frightened lest some harm befall the people, he went [381] to the church and restrained to silence the disorderly confusion. Suddenly all the crowd shouted out together, saying that Ambrose was worthy of the episcopate, and as by divine providence unity appeared among the people. There were many bishops gathered in accordance with God's favour. He was a catechumen, *although chaste in life*¹⁷³, and was baptised then and there. He received baptism willingly, but refused ordination to the episcopate.

Ambrose was made known to Valentinian, and he was amazed at the unity [of the people]. He said the affair was God's command, and sent word [382] to him to accept the episcopate, because that choice is not from mankind but from God. By such *confidence* was he ordained, and he brought them all to peace.

CHAPTER 90

How Valentinian attacked the Sarmatians, and how he was killed.

His son, of the same name Valentinian, became emperor

[IV, 31]¹⁷⁴ Valentinian prepared arms and troops and went to attack the Sarmatians with all preparedness. When the barbarians heard this, they

¹⁶⁹ IV, 29: In SI/Soc: "Damasus is ordained bishop of Rome." But SII omits most of the chapter.

¹⁷⁰ IV, 30: In SI/Soc: "Ambrose is made bishop of Milan."

¹⁷¹ The populace *ρωμηνηθηλη*, for "those in Milan" in SI/Soc. SII omits the name of the region.

¹⁷² Prince: *πριου*, as SI, rendering ἄρχων.

¹⁷³ SII implies that chastity would be expected after, rather than before baptism. Cf. the addition at the beginning of p. 450.

¹⁷⁴ IV, 31: In SI/Soc: "Valentinian is killed; his son succeeds to the throne."

sent supplications and looked for peace. [383] But he, filled with anger, cried out: "[I shall] bring cruel events [upon you] in return for your evil deeds." In his outburst of anger and wrath the veins of his intestines¹⁷⁵ ruptured, and the blood flowed out and dried up. Straightway he died in the fortress of Bergition. He had reigned for thirteen years¹⁷⁶, leaving his son Gratian as emperor, whom he had previously appointed ruler¹⁷⁷. However, six days after the death of Valentinian the generals and soldiers of the emperor named his son Valentinian, who was of the same name and very young in years, as emperor in his father's place in Italy. [384] When the emperors Valens and Gratian heard this, they were angered — not because the brother of one and nephew of the other had become emperor, but because he had become emperor and taken the empire without their [permission]. However, they both agreed to it. His mother was Justina, whom [Valentinian] had married while his own wife was still alive because of the fame of her beauty. She was the daughter of prince¹⁷⁸ Justus and had been left an orphan by her father. He did not set aside his first wife Severa, [385] mother of Gratian whom he had earlier named emperor. By making it lawful [to have] two wives, he established lawlessness. Justina bore Valentinian, of the same name as his father, who reigned after his father's death, and three daughters: Justa and Grata, [386] who completed their lives in virginity, and Galla, whom later a certain Theodosius¹⁷⁹ married.

CHAPTER 91

Valens raises war against the orthodox

[IV, 32]¹⁸⁰ Then Valens went to Antioch and lived there continuously because of the barbarian nations. He fought very fiercely against the orthodox who glorified the consubstantial Trinity, and he planned punishments [for them].

¹⁷⁵ Of his intestines: *ρῦντεραι*. SII has misunderstood *αρυτεραι*, "[his veins opened and all his] arteries," in SI.

¹⁷⁶ Valentinian died on 17 November 375, having reigned eleven years [from March 364]. SII follows SI in reading 13; there are variants in the Greek MSS between 11 and 13, see apparatus ad loc in Hansen.

¹⁷⁷ Ruler: *ληγενης*, "governor of a province." Gratian was named βασιλεύς above in IV, 11, a passage omitted in SII.

¹⁷⁸ Prince: *πριγκιπης* for ἄρχων, as above, n. 172.

¹⁷⁹ SI/Soc state that this was the emperor Theodosius the Great.

¹⁸⁰ IV, 32: In SI/Soc: "Valens moderates his persecution."

[387] When the philosopher Themistius learned of this, he urged moderation of his actions against the orthodox through an oration in a mild tone. *And how he demonstrated wonders concerning his fearsome obstinacy*¹⁸¹. And he advised the emperor Valens to calm himself a little. “For unity is not helpful for submission to you. As there are many sects among the heathen, more than three hundred, and in the multitude of sects they necessarily in disunity glorify God in different ways, since they all are in fear of his majesty, it is not easy to have knowledge [of Him] to hand.” This, and more of similar import, he spoke and softened his anger. Although he did not completely [abate] his anger, yet instead of death [388] he persuaded him to impose exile on the clergy.

CHAPTER 92

The barbarian nation of the Goths, after wars against the Romans, accepted the faith of Christ; and the bishop of the Goths defines a script for them

[IV, 33]¹⁸² In those [times] a civil war among the barbarians moved them against each other on the far bank of the river¹⁸³. One side, on being defeated, sought to have the Romans as supporters. A command was issued by the emperor to the general of Thrace and his army to provide help. They attacked them, and the army which had gone [to Thrace] gained the victory over the opposing army. This was the cause for the barbarians’ coming to Christianity, [389] showing gratitude to the Romans.

Then Ulfila, bishop of the Goths, invented a script¹⁸⁴ for the Goths in order to teach the barbarians. And he arranged the translation of the divine scriptures into the Gothic tongue. Not only did he confirm the allies of the Romans in the faith, but he also brought those of the other side to the faith. In this way, after many of the barbarians had received the faith, [390] not a little later there was peace and mutual unity in love¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸¹ And how... obstinacy: *և որպէս սքանչելիս եցոյց ի վերայ նորա ահին անհաւանութեան*, which seems to be a garbled rendering of SI: “one should not wonder at the disunity of the Christian faith.”

¹⁸² IV, 33: “The Goths accept Christianity.”

¹⁸³ SII omits the name of the river Istros, “Isaros” in SI.

¹⁸⁴ Script: *գիր*. SII follows SI in rendering the *γράμματα* of Soc. Invented: *Հնարեցաւ*, as SI; but “defines, սահմանէ,” in the chapter title.

¹⁸⁵ It is noteworthy that SII omits all reference to the Goths’ Arianism, which is emphasized in SI/Soc.

[IV, 34]¹⁸⁶ But when other barbarians fought against them, they fled to the Romans [promising] to come and serve the emperor. On hearing this, Valens gave them the region of Thrace, supposing that they would greatly prosper [391] and become more feared guards of his empire than his own army. For that reason he neglected to increase the Roman army. The prominent soldiers and those who had demonstrated bravery in battles he neglected, and rather demanded taxes from them which he presented to the barbarians. These became strong in all respects, and were opponents of their benefactors.

[IV, 35]¹⁸⁷ Regarding Thrace as their own, they dislodged even more of the Romans, and took plunder. [392] When this came to the ears of Valens, he was thrown into doubt. Abandoning war on the church of the orthodox, he went from Antioch to Constantinople. At that time Euzoius, the Arian prelate of Antioch died¹⁸⁸, and Dorotheus was appointed in his place for that sect by Valens. He himself came to Constantinople.

CHAPTER 93

Mavia the general with the Tachik nation raises war against the Romans; and a certain Tachik, Moses by name, reconciles them

[IV, 36]¹⁸⁹ At the same time a war was also raised by the Tachiks¹⁹⁰, who previously had been allies, *on account of his wife Mavia, whom he had from the Romans. [393] After that woman had died¹⁹¹*, they made attacks and plundered their neighbours. But divine providence [ended this] through a certain man, Tachik by race, who led a solitary life in the desert. Called Moses, he was a fearer of God, orthodox in faith, famous for his skill and admired for his virtue. He came and persuaded Mavia and her army to peace, to make a treaty of friendship and peace. They heeded him and sent that same Moses. He came and related this, and there was no little joy. Through him peace and tranquillity from the Tachiks [were established].

¹⁸⁶ IV, 34: In SI/Soc: "Goths enter the Roman empire."

¹⁸⁷ IV, 35: In SI/Soc: "Valens ceases his persecution."

¹⁸⁸ Euzoius of Antioch died in 376; Dorotheus was bishop 376-381.

¹⁸⁹ IV, 36: In SI/Soc: "War with the Saracens; Moses becomes their bishop."

¹⁹⁰ Tachiks: The standard Armenian name for the Arabs of northern Mesopotamia, derived from the name of the tribe *Tayy*; see Hübschmann, 86-8; Σαρακηνοί in Soc.

¹⁹¹ On account... died: This passage is confused in SII. The Tachiks were led by Mavia, whose husband had died. For these events and the career of Moses see Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, esp. 152-8: "The Holy Man Moses."

On seeing such a man, they forced him to the grace of priesthood [394] and took him to Alexandria to Lucius for ordination [at] the honourable city. He said: "I am not worthy of this grace. But if the grace of Christ summons [me] to the need of his people, I shall not be ordained by Lucius *the Arian and Pneumatomachos*. For his right hand is a right hand of sin and is full of blood."¹⁹² Lucius said: "It is not right to utter insults, but to learn the faith." Moses said: "Your deeds bear witness to your faith. As for those who believe *in the holy Trinity*, some you have cruelly tormented, some you have exiled *to the mines*, some you have killed either by the sword or as food for wild beasts, and many you have persecuted. [395] Surely your faith does not enjoy this!" *On hearing this Lucius did not wish to respond*. Moses, *disdaining Lucius*, went his way. On encountering persecuted orthodox *and being forced by them*¹⁹³, he accepted ordination. Moses went to Mavia and united the Romans and Tachiks in a treaty and in peace.

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CHAPTER 94

*Valens is mocked by the people of Constantinople. He goes to attack Adrianople and is burned by fire*¹⁹⁴

[IV, 38]¹⁹⁵ Valens was mocked by the people of Constantinople because of the barbarians [397] *and because of all the wicked things he had done to the orthodox*. In anger he went to attack the barbarians. On reaching Adrianople he *was burned by fire*¹⁹⁶ and perished. [398] It was unknown to human knowledge how and in what manner he was burned by fire. He was aged fifty and had ruled for thirteen years: with his brother for three, and after his brother for ten. *In this fashion the fighter against the church was removed*.

¹⁹² Cf. Is. 1. 15.

¹⁹³ For the theme of being forced to ordination see the Introduction, 20.

¹⁹⁴ SII has reversed the order of chapters 37 and 38 in SI/Soc.

¹⁹⁵ IV, 38: In SI/Soc: "The death of Valens."

¹⁹⁶ Burned by fire: as in MX, III 33. Valens was killed on 9 August 378, having reigned since March 364.

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CHAPTER 95

*Bishop Peter returns to Alexandria, and Lucius is expelled from
the city*

[IV, 37]¹⁹⁷ Then Peter returned to Alexandria, and its citizens and all Egypt willingly received Peter and expelled Lucius from the city. Peter held the church *and confirmed it in the right faith and ritual in accordance [401] with the blessed Athanasius and the previous orthodox patriarchs*. But after not a little time he ordained in his place his [own] brother Timothy, *and he himself departed this world in good repute for deeds and faith. Timothy held the faith with the same faith and religious practice*¹⁹⁸.

¹⁹⁷ IV, 37: In SI/Soc: "Peter is restored as bishop of Alexandria."

¹⁹⁸ Lucius was expelled on 30 May 378. Peter II died on 15 February 380; Timothy, bishop 380-384.

[BOOK V]¹

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CHAPTER 96

Concerning the reign of Gratian after the death of Valens

[V, 2]² Gratian, after the death of his uncle Valens, held the empire with his young brother Valentinian³. He condemned Valens, [403] who had fought against the Christians. The bishops exiled by him he restored to each one's place, and [allowed] each to follow his own *rite*⁴; save that he prohibited from acceptance the [rites] of the Manichaeans and Photinians and Eunomians. When they saw that the barbarians had become stronger than the Roman army, *the brother emperors Gratian and Valentinian, with their troops, agreed to promote the general Theodosius, a brave and wise man, victorious in warfare*⁵, to the rank of emperor in the place of Valens, in order to gain victory in the battles against the barbarians. *Gratian would hold the rank given him by his father, [404] and the young Valentinian, who had the same father, [would hold] his own patrimony*⁶.

To this the emperors and princes and troops agreed, and they made Theodosius emperor in the place of Valens⁷. He was from the country of Spain, *a citizen of no insignificant city*⁸, who before the reign of Gratian had held the Roman army united because of his intelligent and benevolent behaviour. *On becoming emperor he equipped the army and went to wage war on the barbarians. He defeated them and put the survivors to flight. The victorious Theodosius overcame the barbarians and freed the country from the tyranny of the foreigners, in accordance with God's giving success to Theodosius.*

¹ SII omits the Preface and ch. 1 ["The Goths attack Constantinople"] in SI/Soc.

² V, 2: In SI/Soc: "Gratian restores the exiled bishops."

³ Gratian: 17/11/375-25/8/383; Valentinian II, 22/1/375-15/5/392.

⁴ Rites: *կարգաց*, for the *կրօնից*, "worship, religion," of SI, which renders accurately the *θρησκεία* of Soc.

⁵ For Armenian approbation of Theodosius I cf. MX, III, 40, 41.

⁶ This section on the two emperors is expanded from SI/Soc.

⁷ Theodosius I: emperor 19/1/379-17/1/395.

⁸ Acts 21. 39 — of Paul and Tarsus. Cf. p. 493, where the same phrase is applied to John Chrysostom.

CHAPTER 97

Who were those who at that time were the overseers⁹ of the great sees

[V, 3]¹⁰ In those times Damasus was the *archbishop*¹¹ of Rome. Of Jerusalem, Cyril *the second*, who occupied the throne after Julius¹². Of Antioch, Meletius, [405] whom Gratian had restored from exile; but of the Arians, Dorotheus. In Alexandria [the bishop] was Timothy, brother of Peter who had preceded him; and of the Arians, Lucius who had been expelled¹³. The Arian church of Constantinople was held by Demophilus.

[V, 4]¹⁴ The Macedonians shared possession of the churches *with the Arians*¹⁵. [406] Those who confessed consubstantiality occupied the churches which they were able to tend in the faith. For Gratian had passed a law that one might observe whatever faith one wished.

[V, 5]¹⁶ [408] Some had scruples about Meletius, because they said he had received ordination from Arius. For that reason he came to Constantinople

[V, 6]¹⁷ to Gregory *the Theologian*, who held the position of locum-tenens¹⁸ of orthodoxy at the choice of the orthodox bishops, when the law had been passed by Gratian that one might observe the faith one wished¹⁹.

⁹ Overseers: *ἡγουσάτων*, not attested before the tenth century according to the *NBHL*.

¹⁰ V, 3: In *SI/Soc*: "The prelates at that time."

¹¹ Archbishop: *επισηλυτικὸς ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*, but *ἀνωθύνος*, "prelate," in *SI* for the *προϊστάτο* of *Soc*. Damasus, bishop of Rome 1/10/366-11/12/384.

¹² This addition is misplaced. "Second" refers to Damasus (after Julius), following Liberius as pope. Cyril of Jerusalem was the first of that name, but his tenure was interrupted several times. See p. 269 for confusion over two Cyrils.

¹³ See p. 400 for the expulsion of Lucius. Timothy I, bishop 380-384.

¹⁴ V, 4: In *SI/Soc*: "Concerning the Macedonians."

¹⁵ With the Arians: But in *SI/Soc*: "with those who had from the beginning confirmed the definition of the Nicene faith." Perhaps *SII* cannot imagine "heretics" using orthodox churches.

¹⁶ V, 5: In *SI/Soc*: "Meletius is forced to go to Constantinople."

¹⁷ V, 6: In *SI/Soc*: "Gregory Nazianzenus is made bishop of CP; Theodosius is baptised."

¹⁸ Locum-tenens: *ἐπισηλυτικὸς θρόνος*, but "bishopric" in *SI/Soc*.

¹⁹ Faith one wished: cf. p. 403.

CHAPTER 98

The discourses of Gregory the Theologian concerning the orthodox

Now Gregory on his arrival endured not a little trouble from the Arians and the Pneumatomachoi and many other heterodox, who filled the whole city with such [doctrines]. So there were continuous disputes and quarrels. If the droves of heretics had not been resisted through him, [409] the seed of the faith would not have remained in Constantinople or in nearly any other place.

But he, like a brave champion, fought against all with spiritual weapons in the spiritual battle. He was victorious over all who boasted in secular philosophy and in their pride had eyebrows superior to their vision to be called "Rabbi, rabbi," by men²⁰. Overcome by Gregory through his very intelligent wisdom, they were abased and despised; while those who boasted in their rhetoric and demonstrated splendid [examples] thereof, were robbed of their praises by the simple-minded. Gregory countered argument with argument, and showed [them] to be vile and contemptible. Some [he refuted] through secular poetry; some through the testimony of the holy scriptures, the old or the new, which were ready at his disposal through the grace of the holy Spirit that had been entrusted to him. Some brought against him arguments or notions in accordance with the doctrine of their sects, but returned defeated and ashamed. By destroying their insolence Gregory confirmed the truth in writing and by speech, and the faith and [proper] behaviour. For not only did he have praise from mankind, as his own writings indicate that his most wise words are filled with intelligence and grace, but also for his virtue he was even more exalted by God. [410] And he inherited repute and the kingdom to the glory and divine praise of God.

Meletius, bishop of Antioch, remained with him [for] the council²¹.

²⁰ Cf. Mt. 23. 7.

²¹ The reference to Meletius is from the end of ch. 5. For the council see ch. 8.

CHAPTER 99

The emperor Theodosius, after victory over the barbarians, returns and comes to Thessalonica. He is baptised by Acholios, and comes to Constantinople. A council of bishops is held in opposition to Macedonius and for the profession of the orthodox faith

So Theodosius became emperor, and after victory over the barbarians and having administered the country he returned to Constantinople. On reaching Thessalonica he fell ill there. Because he had not received baptism, although he was an orthodox believer and the child of orthodox believers, he hastened to be baptised. [411] *For the custom prevailed that they would come to baptism at a mature age. Therefore Gregory the Theologian gave him instruction, and he was rapidly called to the illumination of baptism — as clearly indicate his teaching on baptism and his wise discourses.*

Acholios the bishop²² was of the Nicene faith, which has confirmation according to the preaching of the apostles as the perpetual faith for the universal churches. Then the emperor Theodosius was baptised by Acholios with a true confession in the Father and Son and holy Spirit. Straightway he gained health from his disease, and gratefully glorified God. Then he came to Constantinople in the first year of his reign²³. With great honour he received Gregory. [412] *He questioned him and learned from him the statement of the faith. And he received from him, willingly and with faith, as from a learned and holy man, all the good order of the rites and rituals of the church.*

[V, 7]²⁴ Because the house of prayer where Gregory tended the believing congregation was small, later on the emperor turned it into a large house of prayer with wonderful embellishments²⁵. They named it Anastasia.

[V, 8]²⁶ *When Theodosius saw that many had separated from the orthodox faith, he asked Gregory: "In what fashion could we [413] bring them to unity with the right faith?" He advised him to convene a council of many [bishops], and with prayer to seek from God confirmation of the*

²² Bishop of Thessalonica.

²³ Year of his reign: but "consulate" in SI/Soc; see also p. 435 for the same error. SI/Soc give the date as 24/11 [380]. Cf. the *Life of Gregory*, VV, I, 309, for the return of Theodosius to CP and his reception of Gregory.

²⁴ V, 7: In SI/Soc: 'Gregory leaves Constantinople.'

²⁵ With wonderful embellishments: *ζρωζωψις μαρφημωδου*[p]. The same phrase is used twice of CP as built by Constantine, p. 9, 42.

²⁶ V, 8: In SI/Soc: "The council at Constantinople."

*faith; and with the testimony of the holy scriptures to distinguish the faith professed at the holy council of Nicaea from all the sects; and to indicate to all the heretics what is correct and what false; “and to remove yourself from wicked communion with them. Those who adhere to the agreeable words you will keep in communion with yourself and all the orthodox churches. But those who do not trust in God will be far from his blessing. You will leave vengeance to God, knowing what he said: ‘From me is vengeance [414] and I shall requite, says the Lord omnipotent’.”*²⁷

These [proposals] were acceptable to the emperor. He sent invitations to come to a council in Constantinople [to]: *Damasus of Rome*²⁸, Timothy of Alexandria, Cyril of Jerusalem, Meletius of Antioch, [415] who had come previously to Gregory who held the position of locum-tenens, and Basil of Caesarea, and Gregory of Nyssa, Basil’s brother, and Nerses Part’ew of Greater Armenia, [416] whom Valens had exiled and Theodosius, having restored, held in honour until the faith was confirmed at the council²⁹.

There gathered one hundred and fifty bishops *confessing orthodoxy, who praised and worshipped the all-holy consubstantial Trinity*; and [bishops] from among the Arians and Pneumatomachoi, who thought it better to be united among themselves than with the orthodox. *These confessed the faith of Nicaea with the 150 holy fathers*³⁰. *One divinity and nature and [417] power and essence of Father and Son and holy Spirit they distinguished in three Persons, totally equal and of the same honour in the glory of the nature of the divinity, separated according to Person and unified according to divinity, splendidly glorious in unity and division. More than this not even the angels can say. But in the Trisagion they bring together the glory of the all-powerful lordship and divinity of the Father and Son and holy Spirit. For the confession of angels and men is confined and encompassed in this. Let those who will*

²⁷ Rom. 12.19 = Heb. 10.30; cf. Deut. 32. 35. Instead of this expansion SI/Soc merely indicate that Theodosius summoned the council to ordain a bishop for CP, since Gregory refused to stay there. The letter of Armenian defence sent to Constans II, quoted in Sebeos, 150, claims that Theodosius presided at the council of CP [held in 381]. For the authenticity of that long document see Thomson, “The Defence of Armenian Orthodoxy.”

²⁸ The lists of attending bishops in MX, III, 33, and the *Anon. Chron.*, 55-56, also include Damasus, though he does not appear here in SI/Soc.

²⁹ The attendance of Nersēs, Catholicos of Armenia, is an addition in MX, III, 33, and in the MSS *I b o* of the *Anon. Chron.*, 66, to the account in the *Buzandaran*, IV, 13.

³⁰ See the *Life* of Gregory, 313, for the council of 150 bishops [i.e. at CP in 381]; but there is no discussion there of the Trisagion or the Incarnation. See p. 525ff. for more detailed discussion of the Trisagion, *Էրից սրբաւայութիւն*, in SII.

not observe thus be anathematised by heavenly and earthly creatures; likewise those who do not praise and worship the all-holy Trinity.

As for the turmoils concerning the Incarnation³¹, by the declaration of faith we accept the Word God born of the Father before eternity and afterwards made flesh from the Virgin; [418] and we do not divide the wonderful and glorious mixture of man and God united. He is God all in all, who endured human sufferings and remained God without changing, and is blessed with the Trinity in unity and is not divided. So those who confess thus and will so believe, will receive power³² from heavenly and earthly ones. But those who do not hold thus will be far from them. Such ideas relating to the demonstration of the faith they expressed as consonant with the faith of Nicaea, declaring them in the church after the Gospel. Those who did not agree they separated from communion. But Gregory departed, because of excess of glory and honour, to his own original church and diocese, lest his own people be deprived of his luminous teaching.

A certain man³³, famous among the senators, *as the counsellors are called³⁴*, mild of manner and wonderfully notable, [419] who held the rank of praetor, at the choice of the congregation of God the emperor promoted to the oversight of the church of Constantinople and those churches under it, at the choice of all. And he was ordained there at the holy council.

CHAPTER 100

The tradition of the holy council of Constantinople; those who are entitled to seniority after the single patriarchate

The holy council handed down, after Rome [the following] to have seniority. And arranging the patriarchates, they divided the sees and [decreed] that each was not to go beyond its boundaries.

[420] The first is the patriarchate of Rome, and the churches under it and territories and sees. Second is the patriarchate of Constantinople, *which was of Ephesus but its dignity was transferred there. Third is Alexandria*

³¹ Incarnation: *տնտեսութիւն*, lit. "economy."

³² Power: *զարութիւնս*, sic! This must be an error for, *զարնութիւնս*, "blessings."

³³ As often, SII omits the name — Nectarius; bishop June 381 to 27/9/397.

³⁴ Senators: *սիւնկլիտոսք*, as SI, the standard Armenian term. Counsellors: literally rendered by *խորհրդականք*.

and Egypt, and the churches and territories which from it receive ordination and rites and rituals. Fourth is Antioch, where Meletius was again confirmed by the council, and its territories and sees and [421] churches, and others in it. Jerusalem, and whatever of its churches and territories and sees were divided and given by the council, [comes next]³⁵. Then to Caesarea were given in order Pontus and Cappadocia and all Armenia³⁶, and the churches and territories under it; and to Ephesus, Asia and those territories and churches and sees under it. They established still other rules for the churches throughout the land. With such orthodox faith and canonical definition they were honoured by the emperor. Then they went to each one's place, blessing the most pious emperor.

CHAPTER 101

How the emperor Theodosius transferred from Kukusos of Armenia to Constantinople the body of Paul, bishop of Constantinople, who had been strangled in exile

[V, 9]³⁷ The *chaste*³⁸ Theodosius [brought back] the body of Paul, who had been bishop of Constantinople and exiled by *Constantius the Less* and strangled by the deceit of Macedonius who held his position. [422] It was brought with great splendour from the city of Kukusos of Armenia³⁹ to Constantinople, and placed in a martyrrium with great honour to the glory of God.

At the same time bishop Meletius died after the council. Gregory pronounced the funeral oration over him⁴⁰. His disciples brought his

³⁵ Cf. Yovhannēs Draxanakerc'i, XII, 7-8, for the transfer from Ephesus to CP and the establishment of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Note the more elaborate expansion in the version of the *Life of Nersēs* quoted by Maksoudian, 244, which includes Cyprus and Armenia, not mentioned in the earlier text published in *Sop'erk'*, vol. 6. The Armenian version of the canons of CP [*Kanonagirk'*, I, 273-6] has no reference to the authority of Caesarea.

³⁶ For the relationship of Armenia and Caesarea see Garsoïan, *Schisme*, 57-8, 65-6. It is noteworthy that SII does not refer to an independent Armenian patriarchate, for a general survey of which see Mahé, "Le Catholicos d'Arménie."

³⁷ V, 9: In SI/Soc: "The body of Paul is brought to Constantinople."

³⁸ Chaste: *ողջախոն*, as on p. 376 of the sexually temperate Phrygians.

³⁹ Paul had been strangled in Kukusos; see II, 26. But according to SI/Soc his body was in Ancyra.

⁴⁰ Meletius died in 381. For Gregory of Nyssa's oration see p. 370, where it is attributed to Gregory Nazianzenus.

body to Antioch. His congregation submitted⁴¹ to Paulinus, *who was of the right faith.*

[V, 10]⁴² [423] After a little time had passed the emperor received all the council of heretics in friendly fashion, *so that he might thereby lead to the right faith those whom argument had not persuaded. In this way he coaxed them to the right faith.* And this I regard as a great act of benevolence of the emperor's. For divine providence had subjected to him all the nations of barbarians who had opposed him. Then the emperor Theodosius named his own son Arcadius as Augustus⁴³, [424] not long into his own reign.

CHAPTER 102

How the emperor Theodosius requested the details of each sect, and with prayers begged God to reveal the right [faith]. He read their writings, and being inspired by God set in his mind to remain in the faith of consubstantiality. And he reproved their evil blasphemy

After this all the bishops of the sects came to the emperor Theodosius. But he took counsel with Nectarius as to what means there might be for Christianity to be united *in one praising of God the holy Trinity.* Now I reckon it appropriate to omit the controversy and to bring forward the statement of faith of the earlier [fathers], and to omit from whom they had been separated [425] — those I mean who are the most praiseworthy and holy of all. "If anyone in accordance with his own sect may have twisted the words of the true ones, let everyone set in writing his own [views] before me, so that we may recognise the truth of those of whose right faith we were pupils."⁴⁴ This wish of the emperor's was announced by Nectarius to the heterodox bishops. Consequently they all wrote down *dreadful* statements and confessions of each one's [faith]⁴⁵.

⁴¹ SII has changed the meaning of SI/Soc here: "the party of Meletius did *not* wish to submit to Paulinus." See V, 3, for the schism between Paulinus and Meletius, which SII omits.

⁴² In SI/Soc: "Theodosius calls a council of all sects."

⁴³ On 10/1/383.

⁴⁴ The previous two sentences are much abbreviated from SI/Soc, where the advice was that of Sisinnius.

⁴⁵ They all... [faith]: SI/Soc: "The most skilful among them drew up statements of their respective faith." Here SI has rendered "skilful, δεινοί," by *ηδνησησγ*, which in Armenian has the other sense of δεινός, i.e. "terrible, dreadful." By linking that word to "statements" SII changes the sense.

[428] Nectarius and Agelius agreed on the document of consubstantiality *for the Novatians*; Demophilus that of Arius; Eunomius himself for the Eunomians; and Eleusius for the Macedonians. The emperor received each document, and read all the written statements. When he was alone, the pious emperor prayed with all his heart and with tears, seeking from the Lord of all and the immortal king that he would show him the truth of the faith. He was inspired in his mind to remain in the faith of the consubstantial holy Trinity, *which the holy council had expressed and which had been taught by Gregory — just as his theological [works declare] [429] and as the documents of Nectarius and Agelius agreed. In this he was confirmed by the inspiration of the holy Spirit, and he was strengthened in the faith of the consubstantial holy Trinity. He reprimanded their blasphemy, and tore up their wicked compositions.*

Thenceforth the Novatians were united with the orthodox churches. But the prelates of the other sects in disunity departed saddened. However, many of them converted and confessed the orthodox faith in the consubstantial holy Trinity. A few remained in their sects, saying: "Many are called and few chosen, said Christ."⁴⁶ But day by day they decreased.

[430]

CHAPTER 103

How the tyrant Maximianos from the western regions rose up in the east against the Romans; and Gratian was killed by Maximianos

[V, 11]⁴⁷ In those same times a certain *Maximianos* dwelling in the western regions rose up and descended on the empire of the Romans, emboldened at the youth of Valentinian. He did whatever he wanted. And in the following way he tricked Gratian and slew him by treachery. [431] Disguising *himself*⁴⁸ as Justina his wife, the mother of Valentinian, he announced in advance that his coming to him was to see him and to

⁴⁶ Cf. Mt. 22. 14.

⁴⁷ V, 11: In SI/Soc: "Maximus rebels and kills Gratian." SII spells the name "Mak'simianos," SI correctly as "Mak'simos." Perhaps SII was influenced by the name of the tyrant Maximianos, exterminated by Constantine according to Aa §868, and mentioned above, p. 2. The same error is repeated, for a different Maximus, on p. 611.

⁴⁸ Himself: But SI/Soc state that it was the general of Maximus, Andragatius, who carried out this ruse and killed Gratian.

take counsel concerning her son and that tyrant *Maximianos*, as to what they might decide and carry out. He, trustingly, came out to meet him from the city of Lugdunum, which is in Gaul. Crossing over the river, he honoured him like the queen, unaware of the deceit. [432] When he had drawn near, *Maximianos* ran up and killed him with a sword. Thus Gratian died⁴⁹, having reigned for fifteen years and lived for twenty-four.

After these things had so taken place, Valentinian unwillingly submitted to tribute to the tyrant. Then *Eutropius*, *bishop of the country*⁵⁰, being wary of the tyrant, went with others from Italy to the east, to Thessalonica of Macedonia.

[V, 12]⁵¹ [433] The emperor Theodosius *the Great* became concerned for the young Valentinian. He prepared many troops against the tyrant, lest he kill him [Valentinian] too. Thereupon his son Honorius was born by his wife, queen Flacilla⁵². At the same [time] [434] Agelius, prelate of the Novatians, died, *who had united with the orthodox faith*, and also Timothy, bishop of Alexandria. Bishop Theophilus succeeded to his throne⁵³. After this the emperor went with many troops to make war on the tyrant.

[V, 13]⁵⁴ [435] Now the Arians put out reports, *through the stars*⁵⁵, of certain information for the worst. They continually had vain hope, and reported that the tyrant waxed strong in all affairs and the sign of events was *in the moving constellations*⁵⁶, and they thought that these things had actually occurred. Emboldened in their erroneous knowledge, they burned with fire the house of the patriarch Nectarius, in the second year⁵⁷ of the reign of Theodosius.

[V, 14]⁵⁸ But the emperor with a numerous host [436] marched against the ruling tyrant. The troops with him [Maximus] were terrified, and his army seized their tyrant. They bound him and handed him over to the emperor, and he was slain by the army. *A great peace ensued*. Then Theodosius the Great, honoured by many eulogies, went to Rome with

⁴⁹ On 25 August 383.

⁵⁰ Eutropius, bishop: Sic! SI/Soc refer to the prefect Probus. Here SII has added the prefix "Eu-," instead of omitting it as p. 35, etc., and rationalised the resulting form.

⁵¹ V, 12: In SI/Soc: "Preparations against Maximus."

⁵² On 9 September 384.

⁵³ Timothy died on 20 July 384. Theophilus, bishop 384-15/10/412.

⁵⁴ V, 13: In SI/Soc: "Arian disturbance at Constantinople."

⁵⁵ Through the stars: *բսս ստեղացն*. This may be a corruption of *բստեղծանելով* in SI, "inventing." But the constellations are emphasized in the following addition.

⁵⁶ Constellations: *բազմաստեղս*, used specifically of the Pleiades; cf. Job 9. 9, 38. 31.

⁵⁷ Year: "consulate" in SI/Soc. Cf. above, p. 411, for the same mistake.

⁵⁸ V, 14: In SI/Soc: "Maximus is killed."

Valentinian. And he was with his son *Arcadius*⁵⁹, [437] summoned from Constantinople to Rome; and they celebrated a triumphal festival to the glory and praise of God.

[438]

CHAPTER 104

Paulinus, bishop of Antioch, dies; and Flavian holds the bishopric of Antioch and expels the Arians

[V, 15]⁶⁰ At that time Paulinus, bishop of Antioch, had also died; and Flavian held the bishopric, although they did not wish it. He was a wise man, and through entreaties [439] mixed with wisdom he brought all the people of Antioch to unity. Having persuaded Damasus, bishop of Rome, and Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, and *Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople*⁶¹, he confirmed the *patriarchate*⁶² of Antioch upon himself, expelled the Arians from the city, and united the people.

CHAPTER 105

Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, dies

In those [times] Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, died; [440] and John succeeded to the episcopal throne of Jerusalem⁶³.

CHAPTER 106

For what reason there was a disturbance in the city of Alexandria; and how Theophilus, at the emperor's wish, abolished various games, and also [destroyed] altars and temples

[V, 16]⁶⁴ Then in Alexandria there was a disturbance for the following reason. The bishop Theophilus received an order from the emperor to

⁵⁹ Arcadius: Honorius in SI/Soc. The reason for this change is not apparent, save that Honorius later became emperor of the west. SII may have naturally equated Arcadius with CP, not knowing that the young Honorius also lived there. See also p. 448.

⁶⁰ V, 15: In SI/Soc: "Flavian becomes bishop of Antioch."

⁶¹ Nectarius, bishop of CP June 381-September 397. He is presumably added by SII to complete the list of the four "patriarchates."

⁶² Patriarchate: "bishopric" in SI/Soc. For this common change see above, p. 59.

⁶³ Cyril died in 386. John II, bishop 386-10/1/417.

⁶⁴ V, 16: In SI/Soc: "Pagan-Christian conflict in Alexandria."

destroy the temples of idols *and to exterminate the supposed gods of the heathens*⁶⁵.

[441] He indicated this command of the emperor's to the heathens, and demolished the temples. He destroyed the Mithraeum and the Serapion; and publicly mocked the murderous mysteries of the Mithraeum. The [temples] of Serapion and of the others he ridiculed and mocked. When the heathens who were in Alexandria saw this, they could not bear the insults. As before, they rose up against the Christians, and caused many deaths. Evil followed on evil. Many of the Christians died, but [only] a few of the heathens. There were many wounded on both sides. Then the conflict was calmed by fear of the emperor, and they extinguished their anger. [442] Many heathens fled from Alexandria and hid in other cities, among them two poets, Helladius and Ammonius, who went to Constantinople. Helladius was a priest of Aramazd⁶⁶, and Ammonius [a priest] of Pithekos⁶⁷.

When the trouble had ceased, Theophilus and the eparch assisted each other in burning the altars; the idols they melted down into vessels for the needs of the church. This they arranged according to the emperor's wish. But one image, a statue, they left unmelted; for mockery they put it in an inappropriate place for their admonition.

[V, 17]⁶⁸ In another temple a *cross-shaped stone*⁶⁹ remained fixed in the wall, [443] which the Christians interpreted as a sign of Christ's *willing*⁷⁰ sufferings. But the heathens said: "What is [common] to Christ and *the idols*?"⁷¹ They said: "*Do not be surprised that the grace of Christ God operated invisibly among you up to now [444] as a warning to you.*" On hearing this many believed, and having confessed their sins were baptised. *With such arguments they persuaded them to abandon the Enemy*⁷²

⁶⁵ Supposed [gods]: *կարծեալ*, as in the *Teaching*, §284.

⁶⁶ Aramazd: as SI. This is a common Armenian rendering for "Zeus," e.g. MX, II, 12. For the correspondence of these Greek and Armenian names in the *History* of Agat'angelos see Garitte, *Agathange*, 214.

⁶⁷ Pithekos: SII follows SI in transcribing the Greek Πίθηκος, "Ape," the Egyptian deity.

⁶⁸ V, 17: In SI/Soc: "The form of a cross is found in a pagan temple."

⁶⁹ Cross-shaped stone: *քար ձի խաչածեւ*. Soc refers to hieroglyphs on stones, "the characters having the forms of crosses," which is rendered literally by SI. But SII applies the cross-shape to the stone.

⁷⁰ Willing: *կամաւոր*, for "saving" in SI/Soc. See the Introduction, 23-25, for the theological emphasis in SII.

⁷¹ The idols: "Serapis" in SI/Soc.

⁷² The Enemy: as also just below. Cf. p. 55, and the Introduction, 21-22, for additions involving Satan.

and come to Christ. Just as the Apostle explained to the Athenians the writing on the altar to the unknown god⁷³, so here too [445] was the providence of God revealed, *who wishes all to be saved and come to knowledge of God.*

CHAPTER 107

How the emperor Theodosius, while staying in Rome, made peace, removed the infamies, that is the house of bread and the brothels and the other mechanical [contrivances], stopped the evil pagan habits, and returned to Constantinople

[V, 18]⁷⁴ Now the emperor Theodosius stayed a short time in Italy, effected widespread peace and laws, and showed much largesse to the Romans. He removed the shame of the city [446] *and the infamies of the Enemy.* There were bread houses for the populace in Rome, and also mills in the houses, in which earlier the heathens had created dens of robbers *at the instigation of the Enemy.* There were houses underneath the [bake]-houses and invisible doors. They had put prostitutes in these, and many they took captive through them — some because of food and drink, and some because of lewd desires. There was a mechanism in the tavern by means of which the perpetrators of this crime wished to cast those caught discreetly into the mills, especially strangers. They were unable to get out, but were held and worked the mills until their death. Such were their deeds, and many youths [447] grew old in these traps.

One of the emperor's soldiers, Theodosius by name, fell in; and having fallen into the mills, was kept there by the mechanisms. Drawing a dagger he rushed on those who had imprisoned him in order to kill them. They were unable to resist; *so opening the door, he forcibly made his way out*⁷⁵. When the emperor heard this, he punished the bakers and handed over the robbers and completely destroyed the houses.

In another similar fashion they made brothels in the city with lewd knowledge, ringing bells so that when these were shaken all might know whoever was engaged in the vice of adultery. When the emperor learned of this, he destroyed the brothels and the [method of] making known the lewd vices and their reprobation; [448] instead he had those found in

⁷³ Cf. Acts 17. 23.

⁷⁴ V, 18: In SI/Soc: "Theodosius reforms abuses in Rome."

⁷⁵ So... out: cf. Aa, §192, of Rhip'simē forcibly escaping from Trdat.

fornication judged by the laws of *the church*⁷⁶. From these evils he freed the city, and removed the remaining [aspects] of wicked heathen custom, and legislated piety.

He left Valentinian as emperor to rule in Rome, and himself with his son *Arcadius*⁷⁷ went to Constantinople, in great glory and much praise. *There was a joyous festival at the coming of the pious emperor Theodosius, who always cared for things divine and the churches of God in accord with the right faith, and nobly lived a life of virtue to the glory of the heavenly and immortal king.*

[449]

CHAPTER 108

The gentleness of the pious Theodosius, and other upright actions of his

In gentleness he was wonderful to all, and to no one did he render evil for evil; for not even of the Arians was he resentful, they who wished for his death and that the tyrant might reign. Going astray through the stars into vain errors, they did not heed the sayings: "Who knew the mind of the Lord, or who was his fellow-counsellor"⁷⁸, that he might know?" And again: "Everyone who will examine the stars of heaven will burn like brushwood in the fire."⁷⁹ He said they would receive punishment from God. He expelled the heterodox from the city; and they made gatherings there, but only Eunomius he ordered to be exiled.

He accepted the Novatians⁸⁰, *who confessed the consubstantial Trinity.* [V, 19]⁸¹ But for this only were they separated, in accordance with the early Novatians, who in the time of Decius did not receive into repentance those who had apostatised in the persecution through fear of death and torture, and later were contrite, [450] *nor those who again committed fornication after baptism*⁸². In these [matters] they gave way to each other, although not completely. Such happened in Constantinople.

⁷⁶ Of the church: "by other laws" in SI/Soc.

⁷⁷ SII has again changed Honorius in SI/Soc to Arcadius; see above, p. 436.

⁷⁸ Rom. 11. 34.

⁷⁹ Is. 47. 13-14.

⁸⁰ He expelled... Novatians: SII has changed the order of events; see ch. 20 in SI/Soc.

⁸¹ V, 19: "Nectarius and the Novatians."

⁸² Cf. the addition on p. 381, emphasising the chastity of Ambrose even before baptism.

CHAPTER 109

Concerning the priest who revealed the sins of a noble woman who had confessed, who [committed adultery] with the deacon

At that time under Nectarius a certain woman of noble family came to a certain priest and confessed the sins which she had committed after baptism. The priest commanded her to keep a strict fast and to pray continuously, so that with her confession the act of repentance might be demonstrated to be worthy of contrition. She said in her confession this too: "I have sinned with a deacon of the same church." On hearing this he deposed the deacon from his office, [451] and much turmoil seized the church of the Novatians — not because he had been dismissed from his rank in this fashion, but because they had been ridiculed. Nectarius advised that those who sinned should be received into repentance with confession; *and he defined for them the appropriate places and rites for whoever might be worthy, whoever it might be.* [452] "And do not exclude from communion without hope [those who] worthily repent. For Christ did not come to call the just but sinners to repentance."⁸³ *With these [words] he made them submit to the churches of God. Daily those of the orthodox increased in canonical observance, knowing the piety and orthodoxy of the emperor.*

CHAPTER 110

How there were divisions among all schisms concerning the Easter of the Novatians, and concerning the fast of holy Easter. Concerning the readings a division also among the Arians. Those who had separated were reunited and joined the orthodox

[V, 20]⁸⁴ There were other divisions and squabbles among all the schisms: Arians with Arians, Pneumatomachoi with Pneumatomachoi, Macedonians and also Novatians; likewise concerning [453] the order and canons of the church. And all schismatics were divided, some for the sake of ambition. In this way those who were disunited from each other concerning the faith and religion came to the true faith and to the rule of the church of God.

⁸³ Mt. 9. 13; Mk. 2. 17; Lk. 5. 32.

⁸⁴ V, 20: In SI/Soc: "Divisions among the Arians." The version in SII is much rewritten.

[V, 21]⁸⁵ [457] At that time there was a division among the Novatians also concerning Easter. For some held a council and changed Easter to celebrate it according to the Jews; while others not thus, *but at the full [moon]*⁸⁶. For such a reason there was a division also in other rites.

There was a certain Jew⁸⁷ who believed in the Lord according to their fashion. They learned these things from him in accordance with the Law of Moses.

[V, 22]⁸⁸ They did not bring forth the Apostle's saying, beginning with the Spirit: "so you die in the body."⁸⁹ For in the changing of the priesthood, it is necessary for there to be a change of law. These are shadows of the future [458] which will be resolved through Christ. There were those also in other places who were not in agreement to celebrate the feast of Easter, especially also the fast of holy Easter. Those who confessed orthodoxy separated from each other, just as the matter of the fast is manifest to all.

[462] In Rome they celebrated the festival of Easter in accordance with the saving Resurrection, *and kept the holy fast from the beginning to the end of the fast of Easter*. Neither on the sabbath nor on Sunday did they change their food. They say that they have these traditions of feasts and of the fifty [days] fast from Peter and Paul⁹⁰.

[463] Now *Asia and Ephesus* observe in like fashion from John the Evangelist⁹¹ the celebration of Easter according to the message of the Resurrection, and similarly extend the fast to the end of the fifty [days]. But in Alexandria they celebrate in holy manner [the fast] to the fortieth day, the so-called day of blessing. After that they honour the sabbath with more respect and with readings down to Easter. Although in accord

⁸⁵ V, 21: In SI/Soc: "Divisions among the Novatians." SII omits the first part of this chapter concerning the succession to bishop Agelius.

⁸⁶ At the full moon: *μην ἡρόων*; see ch. 22 for Easter on the 14th day of the moon. Here SI renders the μετ' ἰσημερίαν of Soc by *ἕκαστ' ἡμερῶν*, "after the equinox."

⁸⁷ As usual SII omits the name [Sabbatius].

⁸⁸ V, 22: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Easter and other rituals." The version in SII is much abbreviated, omitting most of the detailed references to different regions.

⁸⁹ Gal. 3. 3.

⁹⁰ Akinean, "P'ok'r Sokrat," 36-38, notes that this section of the Greek [p. 462,1-465,5 in Hansen's edition] is quoted by Xosrov T'argmanič', with some additions, in his *Homily on the Fast of Lent* as from "the History of Socrates." Akinean prints the text, which has not been published elsewhere. Cf. the text "From Socrates, *ἡ Ὁλοκρωται*," in *Kanonagirk'*, I, 290-292; but there are no exact verbal parallels.

⁹¹ SI/Soc associate the Quartodecimans with John, not Asia, and do not mention Ephesus in this chapter.

with the old Easter the liturgy is offered, [it is even] more in accord with the celebration of the days. But on the sabbath and Sunday the saving liturgy is always celebrated in the churches of God.

There is among them a difference of food which we have noticed. Some consume all living [animals] except fish and oil and wine; some on every day, and some only on Saturday and Sunday; and some [eat] only bread and salt and water. [464] There are some who [eat] all rich food and drink on Saturday and Sunday, but abstain from meat. And in whatever such fashion it may be, whether in moderation or not in moderation it is to be understood thus. For the apostles did not make such a distinction because of the new-believers; but [said to observe] these important points: "to abstain from sacrificing to idols, from fornication, from what has been strangled, and from blood. Those who keep themselves [from these] will do well. Farewell."⁹² In this way they led them to the truth gradually and not by force. Hence those who are modest and right-minded in faith and behaviour have acquired the life of the apostles. But the lazy were not condemned and punished, because he stands or falls for his own Lord. But he will live because the Lord is able to confirm him.

[465] There were some who prohibited the liturgy on Sunday and Saturday for the sake of strengthening the fast. But this was not received from the saints, who [celebrated] the memorial of the Resurrection of Christ with the liturgy; and the heroism of the saints will be unobserved in oblivion for the church⁹³. There were some who every evening read the day's readings, except on Sunday and Saturday, which is at the third hour according to the mystery. And there were some who [fasted?] on Friday and Thursday only. In this way, diverging from each other, they had mutual communion in the love of the Spirit.

It is good to recall that Origen spoke a homily concerning Easter⁹⁴. [466] He said the Law was impotent, because the bodily command is an example of the truth. Concerning Easter he said the day of resurrection is salvation against the opposing powers, which the Saviour accomplished through the sufferings of the cross, trampling on death and removing sin. Let us celebrate it with the gospel of the resurrection, he said, being renewed from the old. Thus he joins the fast to the same.

⁹² Acts 15. 29.

⁹³ The meaning of this last phrase in SII is unclear. Here ends the long quotation in Xosrov T'argmanič'.

⁹⁴ SII is not following the order of SI/Soc. For this homily see *Clavis*, I, no. 1480; no Armenian version is known.

There were those who did not prevent fasting with legal spouses. [467] And there were some who [said] it was difficult and displeasing and loathsome for this to occur or be seen in a fast⁹⁵. And on seeing this, they separated themselves. There were some who left [these matters] to each one's own will, lest they be tempted by Satan.

Concerning this, let this much be sufficient.

[V, 23]⁹⁶ [473] But the Arians who were divided among themselves, after abandoning the dispute united with the orthodox faith of the church of our God in our faith and rites. *Once more they accepted ordination from Nectarius, the patriarch of Constantinople*⁹⁷. The others in Constantinople who had repented after thirty⁹⁸ years under Theodosius came to profess consubstantiality. And they established a law not [474] to recall upon themselves the chief [point] of their error; *but with reverence for the right faith let us live to the glory of God*. This occurred in Constantinople.

[V, 24]⁹⁹ As for the party of Eunomius, they too were divided. Eunomius had earlier been ordained by Eudoxius *the Arian*; for he did not accept his teacher Aetius, who was expelled by him¹⁰⁰. *He was not united with him or his austere instruction*. [475] *Others who had been divided and disunited came and confessed our orthodox faith and church rites*. Because it would be a long [task] to mention all the divisions of all the sects, it is especially a fear that I do not know the totality to comprehend and describe them — I who am in Constantinople, where I was born and raised and educated. I shall narrate the most convenient, as much as we can, those who were there and of whom [476] we were eyewitness. But concerning the others do not demand everything from us.

Now if you wish to learn the varieties of sects and the various wicked follies of words and deeds of the schisms, read the book "Ancoratus," which the blessed Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, composed¹⁰¹. He gives information on the *schisms*¹⁰².

⁹⁵ The meaning of this sentence is not clear. To occur: reading *ἵηθη*, as the MSS A and G, for the printed *ἵηθη*, "to be heard."

⁹⁶ V, 23: In SI/Soc: "Divisions among the Arians."

⁹⁷ SI/Soc make no reference to Nectarius here.

⁹⁸ Thirty: As SI, for the 25 of Soc.

⁹⁹ V, 24: In SI/Soc: "Divisions among the Eunomians."

¹⁰⁰ Eunomius had been secretary to Aetius and an Arian; see IV, 8.

¹⁰¹ For this work see *Clavis*, II, no. 3744. No Armenian version of the full work is known; for a summary see Tašean, I, 76-146. There are also numerous Armenian compositions of similar character, though of shorter length. See, for example, Thomson, "An Armenian List of Heresies."

¹⁰² Schisms: "heresies" in SI/Soc.

CHAPTER 111

*On the resurrection of the youths of Ephesus*¹⁰³

At the same time the youths who were in Ephesus on the mountain Holk'os were resurrected. They were sleeping there in a cave [taking refuge from] Decius, persecutor of Christians. The providence of God granted them resurrection and confirmed the hope of the resurrection. For some of the sectarian bishops proclaimed: "There is no resurrection of the body, because souls receive compensation [477] from God according to good deeds, and become like angels in heaven. And the souls of sinners receive punishment with their [bodies] according to merit from the Lord." Because of this question the pious Theodosius¹⁰⁴, with great trembling and with tears, ordered the orthodox to pray to God that there might be mercy from God. He himself undertook even more strict prayers and fasting with vigils and tears. By a wonderful demonstration the resurrection of souls and bodies was noised abroad through the seven youths, who rose up and appeared to the emperor and to many, and who spoke about the resurrection of the dead. Then once more they fell asleep and slept until the general resurrection, just as is very clear to all from their own Histories¹⁰⁵. In these [times], with thanks [478] he confirmed [them] even more in the faith, and glorified God the creator.

CHAPTER 112

How the grammarian Eugenius became a tyrant. He strangles the emperor Valentinian asleep in bed, and seizes Rome and power

[V, 25]¹⁰⁶ After this there broke out a general war in the west. A certain grammarian Eugenius by name, from Rome, was famous as an orator and philosopher. Abandoning his didactic profession, he took up arms and was honoured by the emperor as secretary¹⁰⁷. He became more

¹⁰³ This whole chapter is an addition to Soc. Compare the text in VV, I, 491-502, "Martyrdom of the seven youths."

¹⁰⁴ The *Anon. Chronicle*, 56, introduces this tale under the reign of Theodosius I following the elevation of John Chrysostom to the bishopric of CP.

¹⁰⁵ According to the *Martyrdom* this occurred in 389.

¹⁰⁶ V, 25: In SI/Soc: "The rebellion of Eugenius."

¹⁰⁷ Secretary: *ἡμίμακρος*, which means "bold, insolent;" but here it is a corruption of *ῥητοῦ ἡμίμακρου* in SI, which correctly renders the ἀντιγραφεὺς of Soc.

glorious than all philosophers and rhetors. He also became arrogant in his wicked thoughts [and planned] the death of the emperor. He took as accomplice the emperor's general, Argobastes of Galatia Minor, and the duo plotted the death of the emperor Valentinian. The eunuchs in charge of the bed-chamber they made accomplices with a great promise. [479] These, deceived by the promises, strangled the emperor Valentinian at night while he was asleep in bed. Then he seized Rome and its empire¹⁰⁸.

CHAPTER 113

How Theodosius, on hearing of the murder of Valentinian, reaches Gaul with his army and attacks the tyrant. The tyrant is defeated and his head cut off

When the emperor Theodosius the Great heard this, he became very much concerned, and gathered his army. His *other*¹⁰⁹ son, Honorius, he raised to royal status in Constantinople¹¹⁰. Leaving his two sons *Arcadius and Honorius* as emperors in Constantinople, [480] he himself went to attack that tyrant Eugenius. When he reached Gaul, all of the barbarians came to Theodosius to ally themselves to him in the war against the tyrant¹¹¹. After not many days the tyrant himself came with many myriads of troops. They joined battle beside the river Frigidus. In the part where the Romans were fighting the contest was equal, and no one defeated the other. But where the army of the barbarians was, they were defeated by the tyrant's army in the battle. [481] When the pious Theodosius saw that the barbarians who were his allies were being defeated and were discouraged in the great contest, he threw himself on the ground and with great sighs and tears called on God for help. He was not unheeded in his request. *For then the emperor's army was strengthened by the power from above*. Bacurius, the emperor's general, reinforced with his vanguard, rushed to the sector of the barbarians. He broke through the battle-line and turned the combatants to flight. *He caused many deaths and casualties among the enemy, and saved the barbarians unharmed*.

¹⁰⁸ Valentinian was killed on 15 May 392. Eugenius ruled until 6/9/394.

¹⁰⁹ Other: because SII had changed earlier references to Honorius, p. 436, 448, to Arcadius.

¹¹⁰ On 23 January 393.

¹¹¹ All of the barbarians... tyrant: changed from SI/Soc, where the barbarian troops from beyond the Danube follow Theodosius:

[482] There was also another miracle. A strong wind blew against the tyrant and his army, which turned back their arrows onto the archers and slew them. *For it was the Lord who was fighting¹¹² against the tyrant, having accepted the emperor's prayers. He persevered in such effective prayer until the tyrant was defeated. Since there was no way for him to escape, trusting in the emperor's clemency he ran and threw himself at the emperor's feet. He begged for deliverance and to be spared. But immediately, without any delay, the soldiers cut off the head of the tyrant Eugenius. In this fashion the wicked one was removed, and there was peace for the army and all those lands. As for Argobastus, who had been the cause of so many evils, [483] having joined Eugenius in the murder of Valentinian¹¹³, he fled. Unable to escape from his pursuers, he fell on his own sword, and the wicked one was killed with his own evil. The emperor was victorious in everything, and blessed God; thankfully he with everyone glorified the immortal king.*

CHAPTER 114

The pious Theodosius makes his own son Honorius emperor in the western regions; and falling ill himself, dies on January 17

[V, 26]¹¹⁴ After these events the pious Theodosius fell ill and summoned his son Honorius from Constantinople. He appointed him emperor of the western regions in Rome.

He commanded him to rule by law; not to maltreat anyone or cheat anyone, but rightly and [484] justly to govern the land and the church of God. "Do you and your brother live thus, and do not anger God or diverge from righteousness. But with orthodox faith and right behaviour remain in the love of the all-holy Trinity. In this way you will make your kingdom flourish in peace, to the glory of the heavenly king."

Having said this, he requested a meal in royal fashion; *he made great jollity and gave gifts to all the generals and troops. He celebrated his triumph to the glory and praise of Christ God, the Creator of all. He was wholesome and modest in speaking and eating and drinking in accordance with his former piety. They glorified and thanked God, and went*

¹¹² Cf. Joshua 23. 10.

¹¹³ As at the beginning of the chapter.

¹¹⁴ V, 26: In SI/Soc: "The death of Theodosius."

*each to his own place. He slept a little, and in the evening he was again ill; and in the middle of the night he gave up his soul, on the seventeenth of January*¹¹⁵. [485] He had lived for sixty years, having reigned for sixteen *in piety to the glory of the all-holy Trinity.*

¹¹⁵ In 395, having reigned since 379.

[BOOK VI]¹

[488]

[VI, 1]² Thus died *the great and famous and pious and ever-victorious* emperor Theodosius. Then his sons ruled: Honorius held *Rome and the region of the west in accordance with his father's decision*; and Arcadius [held] *Constantinople and the region of the east in accordance with the emperor's prior decision*.

CHAPTER 115

Who were the prelates of the church at that time

The prelates of the church were: Damasus of Rome, and Nectarius of Constantinople; of Alexandria, Theophilus, and of Antioch, Flavian; of Jerusalem, John *after Cyril*³.

[489] The body of the emperor was brought *by trusted confidants* to Constantinople and placed *in the royal cemetery* with great solemnity by Arcadius, with ecclesiastical rites *to the glory of God*. After this the army reached the city on the *27th of the month of January*⁴, and Arcadius went out to meet the army.

The soldiers killed Rufinus, the emperor's eparch, there being a suspicion of tyranny because the army was [composed] of many barbarians and [there was] still another multitude of troops⁵. In those [times] [490] Marcian, the bishop of the Novatians, died and Sisinnius occupied the see⁶. *Then Rufinus, [bishop] of the Arians, died*⁷.

¹ SII omits here the Preface to Book VI of SI/Soc. It appears in part, rewritten, as a colophon at the end of the *History*; see p. 687-90.

² VI, 1: In SI/Soc: "The burial of Theodosius."

³ Damasus, 366-384; Nectarius, 381-397; Theophilus, 384-412; Flavian, 381-404; John II, 386-417.

⁴ 27th January: but 28th November in SI/Soc. Perhaps SII was influenced by the repetition of 17th January at the beginning of the chapter [omitted in SII], the day of Theodosius's death.

⁵ The last phrase is unclear.

⁶ This is not the Sisinnius, bishop of CP 426-427, for whom see below VII, 26.

⁷ No Arian Rufinus is mentioned by Socrates. The eye of SII must have looked up to the eparch Rufinus. The last Arian bishop of CP mentioned in SII is Demophilus in the time of Theodosius I; see p. 428. The Arians in CP were disunited; see p. 473.

CHAPTER 116

*Concerning the election to the diaconate of John Chrysostom;
his priesthood, patriarchate, and eulogy of his life*

[VI, 2]⁸ After a few days Nectarius, the bishop of Constantinople, died on the 25th⁹ of September. Then the emperor and all the orthodox people were concerned with the ordination: one urged this [candidate], another that. Being disunited, *by the providence of God*¹⁰ [491] they decided on John, priest of the church of Antioch, for his renowned teaching, knowledge and eloquence, *and also for his virtuous way of life*. The emperor summoned him *on some pretext*¹¹ and kept him with him until many bishops had gathered at the summons of Arcadius.

These included Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, who tried to prevent John's ordination in order to ordain Isidore, who was a priest and a great friend of his. But those of the emperor's party all chose John, *although he declined ordination*. Many [492] were stirred against Theophilus with an accusation. The chief-eunuch of the emperor, Eutropius, presented an ultimatum to Theophilus: either to ordain John, or the accusation against him would be brought to trial. In these [circumstances] Theophilus was frightened and ordained John, *who had been constrained by the emperor and forced*¹² *by the bishops and all the churches and the people*. Thus *with many eulogies he received the see with fear and in tears*. They elevated him to the exalted throne on the twenty-sixth of the month of February, [493] after the consulate which the emperor Honorius had completed in Rome and Eutychianus, who at that time was the emperor's eparch, in Constantinople¹³.

Because John was noble, and was summoned to the patriarchate of Constantinople from noble origins, I reckon it appropriate not to be silent on the homilies he left or the invective he caused in many difficult situations, but to speak of the events that befell him — not how many they were, but as much time as is required for this history: Whence he

⁸ VI, 2: In SI/Soc: "John Chrysostom becomes bishop of Constantinople."

⁹ 25th: 27th in SI/Soc; for the easy confusion in Armenian between 5 and 7 see above, p. 112. The year was 397.

¹⁰ Providence of God: see the Introduction, 19, for such additions.

¹¹ Note the frequent imprecision of SII. SI/Soc indicate that Arcadius sent for John at the vote of clerics and laity.

¹² SII frequently adds that candidates are forced to ordination; see the Introduction, 20.

¹³ Here SII has correctly kept "consulate," not changing it to "year" of reign. The year was 398; see Grumel, 350, for the list of consuls.

was, or from what [origins], and how he came to this promotion, to the oversight of many bishops. And how again he was deposed, and how after his death he was honoured throughout the whole world. And how many trials he endured from the envious and the insolent.

[VI, 3]¹⁴ John, the one summoned to the see, was from Antioch, [494] *a citizen of no mean city*¹⁵, a noble and the son of nobles. His father was Secundus, and his mother Anthusa, parents of good family. *His father's sister raised him, who devoted herself to virginity, very pious and a fearer of God. She taught the same practices to him by day and by night, and he continually studied literature*¹⁶. Then he was a pupil of the philosopher Libanius, and he heard the learned and wise Andragathias. When he was prepared for the law and saw the unjust troubles associated with lawsuits, he became fearful and reflected in his mind on the vain life of this world. *He set out for the desert*, having the same good zeal as Evagrius, who also had participated in the same way of life and [495] in tranquillity had attended the teachers of religion, *and then had changed to the way of life and behaviour and clothing which were the tradition of the holy fathers*¹⁷.

He loved to read the divine scriptures. *He applied himself to them, and progressed by the grace of Christ more than most in exposition and knowledge. He was vigorous and famous, and for his virtue worthy of astonishment amid the ascetics.* His fellow-pupils he urged to come to the same life — Theodore and Maximus — and to change wisdom into a simple and troublefree life, to tranquillity without contention. Of these, Theodore later was summoned to be bishop of Cilicia, while Maximus [became] bishop of Seleucia which is in Syria¹⁸. So they, with John, were urged to the pursuit of virtue, and became disciples in religion of Theodore¹⁹ and Sartarios²⁰, who at that time were the leaders of the ascetics. Later Theodore²¹ became bishop of Tarsus. [496] He composed

¹⁴ VI, 3: In SI/Soc: "Concerning John Chrysostom."

¹⁵ See above, p. 404, for the same addition [from Acts 21. 39] applied to Theodosius the Great.

¹⁶ Cf. the *Life* of John in VV, II, 132.

¹⁷ For Evagrius as a hermit cf. p. 337, 348 above.

¹⁸ Syria: SII follows SI in reading "Syria" for the "Isauria" of Soc.

¹⁹ Theodore: for the "Diodore" of SI/Soc. Although Diodore, bishop of Tarsus who died circa 390, is mentioned frequently in the *Book of Letters*, he was less familiar to Armenian writers than his pupil Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia 392-428, whose theology was attacked as early as Koriwn, ch. 23. See in general Garsoïan, *Schisme*, ch. 2.

²⁰ Sartarios: for "Karterios" in SI/Soc.

²¹ Theodore: again Diodore in SI/Soc.

many divine books dealing with the scriptures, but not entering into an analysis of their spiritual meaning.

With Basil and Gregory, John was engaged in contemplating their diligent life and learning, and he became attached to the deliberation of piety and knowledge. Then these too were summoned by the providence of God to the episcopate: Basil as bishop of Caesarea²², and Gregory to Nazianzus, just as we described above²³. But later John was forcibly [ordained]²⁴ by bishop Zeno [on his way to] Jerusalem; he was appointed reader for the church of God and to instruction. For it is not right, he said, for you to hide the light of the grace which is in you in the desert, but [to put it] on a lamp-stand²⁵ in the middle of God's church, so that you may give light to the whole world through the luminous teaching which has been given you by God. He submitted to these words and undertook instruction by word and in writing, encouraging the people without a break and continuously reading. After a few days he was summoned to the rank of deacon by the same bishop Meletius [497] by whom Basil of Caesarea [was ordained]²⁶. Then he received the grace of priesthood from Flavian²⁷. He overflowed through the Spirit with abundance of words. His orations were set down briefly in writing, and his homilies and commentaries on the holy scriptures were collected in books²⁸.

Meletius came from Antioch to Constantinople to Gregory the learned theologian for the sake of assistance in faith and morals when he occupied the throne as locum-tenens. He fought in the spiritual battle against the Arians, Eunomians, and Pneumatomachoi — or to speak simply, all the schismatics. He was valiantly intrepid, as I said above, as also after the council and the confirmation of the faith. Meletius died, and Gregory spoke the funeral oration over Meletius and laid him to rest in Antioch; then Gregory went to his own church²⁹.

²² Hansen, note ad loc, points out that Socrates has confused Basil of Caesarea with John's friend Basil.

²³ Cf. IV, 26, p. 358ff.

²⁴ Forcibly ordained: *Հարկեաց*, lit. "forced," in SII for the *հարդեաց*, "appointed," of SI.

²⁵ As Mt. 15. 15; Mk. 4. 21; Lk. 11. 33.

²⁶ Cf. p. 362.

²⁷ Flavian: SII has misunderstood SI/Soc: John was ordained priest by Evagrius, who succeeded Paulinus, "Polinos" being confused with "P'labianos."

²⁸ For the Armenian versions of works by John Chrysostom, which were popular in Armenia, see Thomson, *A Bibliography*, with the more recent publications of K'yoseyan. For the Greek texts see the literature in *Clavis*, II, s.v.

²⁹ See above, p. 370, for this addition and the confusion between Gregory Nazianzenus and Gregory of Nyssa.

[498] *He*³⁰ recalls also these words concerning John, that when he was with them he was zealous for God. For he was a chaste man, holy and beneficent and just, separated from all evil things, and engaged in reproving sinners. He did not so much care for disdain shown to himself as for the vengeance of God. He was not frightened by threats, nor with partiality did he show flattery to the grand. But he was meek to the humble, and shrewd to the mighty, whoever they might be. He was simple and cheerful and eloquent in declamation, limitless in abundance of words, indefatigable in teaching, and he greatly profited his audience. But before he came to the episcopate frequently he appeared haughty in speech to those who did not know him [among] the malicious and impious.

[VI, 4]³¹ When he had been promoted to the *patriarchate*³² he was even more abundant in these respects for teaching. He reprimanded the disobedient who were under his authority to come to the right way; [499] but those accustomed to evil hated him without cause, and reckoned him irascible and haughty. This was demonstrated even more credibly by Serapion, a deacon ordained by him *to the service of the church of God, who was continually deceiving the clergy*. He urged the newly appointed bishop to even more accusations, *for he was an evil-loving and wordly man. He did not receive what was profitable from him, but remained in his insolence*. Now the *archbishop*³³ John not long [after] [500] expelled many from the church for various faults: one for this, and one for that reason of sin. Those expelled, both great and small, endeavoured to do him harm, and aroused the people against him. And they brought their hearers to believe in the accusation.

They said that he did not eat bread with anyone, nor did he invite anyone to eat with him, but managed his food and drink as he wished. But no one suspected the *relevant* cause. Some said that he was weak in the stomach and of difficult digestion; others that he did this out of an excess of asceticism. His opponents attributed it to vanity. But the truth was not to be found from his opponents; for there was no little dissension on this account in the clergy of the church.

³⁰ He: SII implies that Gregory is the source, but Soc says: "as they say." The following paragraph is based on SI/Soc, but expanded. Akinean, "P'ok'r Sokrat," 175, notes some similar vocabulary in MX, III, 67, in the eulogy for Maštoc'.

³¹ VI, 4: In SI/Soc: "John's conduct as bishop of Constantinople."

³² As above, p. 59, SII frequently changes "bishop" to "patriarch" for CP.

³³ Archbishop: for "bishop" in SI/Soc, as also of the bishop of Rome, p. 404. Cf. the previous note.

[501]

CHAPTER 117

Continuation of the account about the same; and how he reprovved many

The people received wisely the instructive words spoken [by him] in the church, and greatly honoured him. They always loved his luminous teaching *and the commentaries on scripture elaborated by him*³⁴. His spoken exhortations were collected in summary form and written down by secretaries³⁵, abbreviating their import in order to express them again in simple but splendid fashion. What need is there to describe them now, for those who wish could see in them what he had to say, and enjoy the profit from them with their virtues.

[VI, 5]³⁶ Now so long as he was only in dispute with the clergy, [502] the ones reprimanded by him were in disarray; because he rose up to reprimand many more of the nobility than necessary, to the extent that those opposing him he incited to murder. *Here is appropriate the saying of the wise one: "Do not reprimand the evil ones, lest they hate you. Reprimand the wise and they will love you. For he who castigates the evil will bring dishonour upon himself."*³⁷ Thus the unbridled³⁸ who were reprimanded by him hated him and attempted to bring all their colleagues to hatred [of him]. And Eutropius caused a greater increase of hatred by insinuating to the emperor that he had been reprimanded by him.

[503]

CHAPTER 118

How the royal custom was for punishment, and hastening [for refuge] to the church

It was the custom [set down] by the emperors that whoever transgressed against the empire, before arrest for punishment, could rush to

³⁴ SII has expanded SI/Soc: "his sermons in church."

³⁵ Secretaries: SII changes "stenographers," *Երազագրողաց*, in SI [Soc: *ὀξυγράφοι*], to the more common *չարագրողաց*, "authors, compilers." Cf. also p. 523.

³⁶ VI, 5: In SI/Soc: "John and Eutropius."

³⁷ Prov. 9, v. 7 and 8 reversed.

³⁸ Unbridled: *ապասարանեալք*, not biblical, but common in Armenian — as of "this unbridled and darkness-enshrouded nation," i.e. the Persians, Etišē, 149.

the church and be saved from death. *And they gave judgment according to the punishments of the church and of the prelate, whereby he might be judged.* These customs Eutropius tried to stop. He was chief-eunuch of the royal bedchamber, and held the rank of consul³⁹. He received a command from the emperor: "Everyone, he said, who is a criminal against this empire and who takes refuge in the church, is to be dragged from the church and its confines, *and let him die right there. Then let his judgment follow for the loss of his soul.*"

Not much later Eutropius transgressed against the empire. He fled and took refuge in the church, and hid himself under the altar. He took asylum *with the patriarch*, and the fear of death fell upon him. But John the holy *patriarch*, according to his custom, entered into the *crowd*⁴⁰ and preached what [504] in his opinion was for the benefit of the congregation. *He wept for him and* [uttered] reproaches concerning him for the impiety he had previously exhibited. *What could one say? Although he was saved by the church and his intercession*, yet thereafter the law did not allow him to escape. For his head was cut off by a sword after he was arrested by the emperor. In this way Eutropius was removed, and the name of Eutropius's consulate was reviled with insults.

[He also censured] Gainas the emperor's general, who held communion with the Arians and was seeking [505] their *admission into the city and possession of a church*; and *someone else*⁴¹ for other things. *He did not forgive anyone, but as with a sword* he wished through his condemnatory speech to cut out the errors of those who transgressed. For this reason they hated the holy one. With them secretly as accomplice was also Theophilus, because the boldness *of his luminous teaching* brought him fame⁴², and because he was not able to put the priest Isidore in his place on the throne. [506] He was always plotting against the blessed John, not for good. But that we shall relate in the future⁴³.

[VI, 6]⁴⁴ But let us describe how God in his mercy delivered *the city of the Romans* from great afflictions through miracles.

³⁹ Eutropius was consul in 390.

⁴⁰ Crowd: *σὺνπληθῆ*. SII has misread the *σὺνπληθῆ*, ἄμβωον, of SI/Soc.

⁴¹ Someone else: "many others" in SI, which renders more accurately the sense of Soc.

⁴² Brought him fame: *παινήσασκεν αὐτὸν ἄμβωον*, lit. "rendered immortal." But in SI/Soc: the boldness of John "pained" Theophilus.

⁴³ See VI, 9ff.

⁴⁴ VI, 6: In SI/Soc: "Gainas rebels and is killed."

CHAPTER 119

The evil of the tyrant Gainas; how he was defeated and killed

Gainas, *reprimanded by the patriarch John*, was by origin a barbarian; he had submitted to the Romans and undertaken military service. Becoming famous for his proficiency, he was appointed general of the infantry by the emperor. In these circumstances he did not recognise himself, but aimed for the highest [position], and [tried to] move the minds of all the Romans to his side. The whole nation of the Goths he summoned from their country to his own army, and he increased the number of his troops. But another kinsman of his, [507] who had been established general in Phrygia, at the wish of Gainas had assembled a host and was disturbing the land. When the emperor Arcadius heard this, he ordered Gainas to go with all his troops and investigate the calamities, because he was unaware of his evil plot. He went to his kinsman, and from everywhere they gathered many troops and afflicted the whole empire of Rome.

[508] When he recognised this evil [intention] of theirs and his own ignorance, with kind intent and grandiose promises he restrained the myriad host of evil barbarians. Then they asked for two senators of consular rank, whom he said *favoured*⁴⁵ his *evil* intentions — Saturninus and Aurelian. These he was forced to hand over; and they were willing to [risk] death for the sake of saving the empire. When they had gone to the barbarians, *in accordance with God's providence* they suffered no harm from them. Then Gainas reached Chalcedon and met the emperor Arcadius. Entering a chapel where the body of the martyr Euphemia lay, with an oath [509] the emperor and Gainas made a pact not to plot against each other. The pious emperor remained true to the sworn pact with the barbarian; but the latter reneged and returned to his wickedness. He ravaged and burned the territory of Constantinople, *and also plotted the death of the blessed John for his reprimand*. He brought such afflictions on the country that there had not been such lament for disasters. *Daily he increased in wickedness, and there was no one who could prevent him, unless the providence of God had been able to help*⁴⁶.

[510] The tyrant sent many myriads of troops at night to set fire to the palace. Then there appeared a multitude of heavenly beings who guarded the city with strong armaments. When the deceitful soldiers saw this,

⁴⁵ Favoured: *ζωωνήτε*, for the *ζωωνήτε*, "opposed" of SI/Soc.

⁴⁶ For the emphasis in SII on God's providence see the Introduction, 19.

they fled in fear and told Gainas and his kinsman. He did not believe them, knowing the troops of the Romans [to be far away]. Again he sent others of his trusted [soldiers], and they returned and told the same story: the multitude of troops *who were singing*⁴⁷ were heavenly hosts of angels who had appeared and were guarding the heavenly, as they supposed, city. After that the tyrant came himself with a large crowd to test the amazing vision; the tyrant supposed that an army of real troops had come to fight him. Now since these appeared at night, [511] and in the daytime were invisible, *they were terrified and amazed at the vision. When the emperor heard of this providence of God, he was encouraged by the patriarch John that armies of angels surrounded them and protected them*⁴⁸. *He came out to do battle*⁴⁹, trusting in the Lord God. In the battle he defeated the foreigners, wounded many, and the survivors he put to flight.

[512] The tyrant fled to Thrace and reached Lampsacus in order to be able to occupy the eastern part [of the empire]. But the emperor sent an army in pursuit along the seashore. The barbarians were thrown into doubt, and seizing ships wished to cross to where they planned [to go]. However, there too the vengeance of God's miracles was revealed. A strong wind arose, and the sea destroyed many of them.

*The survivors among them recognised the vengeance of God [513] for all the evils they had committed in the Roman empire. Now Gainas in his flight encountered the Roman army and died by the sword. His head was cut off and despatched to the emperor. There was great peace throughout all the land. With thanks for the mercy shown by God [514] they praised the Provider of such visitation*⁵⁰. If anyone should wish to learn [more] information about this, on reading in the book of Eusebius Scholasticus⁵¹ he will learn *of the evils of that time and of the wonders which the Lord showed. The Lord saved the Romans, as he indicated and as the tyrant was about to demonstrate, who was rapidly removed.*

⁴⁷ For singing angels cf. Lk. 2. 13.

⁴⁸ Cf. Ps. 33. 8.

⁴⁹ According to SI/Soc, the Goths were slaughtered *inside* Constantinople.

⁵⁰ The Provider of such visitation: *գոռուիչ այնպիսի այցելութեան*; cf. Mt. 9. 8, for God *գոռուիչ այնպիսի իշխանութեան*, "the provider of such power."

⁵¹ See PLRE, II, 429, s.v. Eusebius, 8. Only this reference to Eusebius exists. No Greek text or Armenian version is known.

CHAPTER 120

How Fravitus raised up war on the church, saying either God has a body or he is incorporeal; and how Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, confessed the Godhead to be incorporeal

Immediately afterwards a certain Fravitus, who was a Goth by race, raised war on the church. He had shown valour in battles [515] and was honoured with the rank of consul⁵²; *but he stirred up opposition*⁵³. The beginning of the evil arose from Egypt in the following fashion. [VI, 7]⁵⁴ Previously the question had been propounded whether God has a body and the form of a man, or whether he is incorporeal and distinct and separate from human shape. On this question there was discord and much strife: some were inclined to this side, and others to that. Most of the simple-minded ascetics said that God's image was in human shape [and] form. But many of them condemned this, and said that God was incorporeal and outside all human form. *In this question the debate affected the words of the confession with regard to God.* Now Theophilus, [516] the bishop of Alexandria, in his preaching to the churches decreed that the deity should always be confessed as incorporeal. When the majority of ascetics heard this, they left their hermitages, went to Alexandria and caused a tumult against Theophilus, calling him impious and worthy of death in that matter.

Then Theophilus reviewed the situation, how he might escape the threats of death. He flattered them, saying: "Oh fathers, I saw you as the images of God, *so do not think of calling me different.*" By these words he soothed their anger, and they said to him: "If you truly say that God's face is as ours, anathematise the writings of Origen, [517] because some people, [influenced] by them, oppose our profession." Theophilus said: "I am even more angry at Origen, and I have said what was decreed by you. So do not be vexed with me, and I shall condemn those who hold [his opinion]." Having said this he calmed them, and in a friendly way despatched them to their places. In this fashion the enquiry on this matter ceased.

⁵² In 401.

⁵³ SII makes Fravitus responsible for the trouble, but SI/Soc blame the priests.

⁵⁴ VI, 7: In SI/Soc: "Debate whether God is incorporeal or not."

CHAPTER 121

How four men, leaders of the Egyptian hermitages, [claimed] that they had been insulted by Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria

There were four *brothers*⁵⁵, leaders of the Egyptian *hermitages*⁵⁶, men who feared God: Dioscorus, Ammonius, [518] Eusebius and Euthymius⁵⁷. They were virtuous and learned, and for this reason loved by the bishops of Alexandria. Theophilus ordained Dioscoros as bishop of Hermopolis by force, and he begged two of them to remain with him in great honour. With difficulty he persuaded them, and he forced them to take on the management and care of the church. They were constrained to hold office, and carried out their duties well. But they were always saddened, because they regarded themselves as incomplete since they were separated from ascetic rules. And they reckoned their souls to be in danger, on seeing the avarice of the bishop who gathered [riches] from everywhere.

When the God-loving men saw this⁵⁸, they departed [519] from him to the desert, lest they lose their [eremitic] status. But Theophilus begged them to remain and carry out the administration [of the church]. Since he could not persuade them, he was filled with anger and threatened to inflict evil treatment on them. But they went to the desert to their former role. [520] Theophilus plotted evil against them in every way, and caused the monks who were attached to them to wage war on them. In the following fashion they were deceived. On this question they were separated from [the monks], because they said that God was incorporeal and not of human form. For if he was of human form, then it would be necessary to ascribe human passions to God. This they confirmed *from comparable [arguments] as Origen's [opinion]*⁵⁹. [Theophilus] transferred his own declaration onto them for the sake of doing evil to those men. In this way he lured many of the solitaries⁶⁰, sensible men but ignorant of scripture, some of them illiterate, not to receive Dioscoros and his brothers

⁵⁵ Brothers: "pious men" in SI/Soc.

⁵⁶ Hermitages: *մենաստանս* [as also in the title], for *միայնարանս* in SI; cf. p. 521. In Soc ἀσκητήρια. For the monastic vocabulary in SII see the Introduction, 22.

⁵⁷ Eusebius and Euthymius: SII drops the initial "Eu-" in both cases. Euthymius has dropped from the printed text of SI.

⁵⁸ When... this: an addition to the Greek in SI.

⁵⁹ From... Origen's: *ի Հանգունից զմրեզինի*. This obscure phrase seems to be a corruption of SI: *ի Հնագունիցն եւ յաւէտ յմրիզինա*, "from the most ancient [theologians] and especially from Origen," as Soc.

⁶⁰ Solitaries: *միայնակեացս* [*միայնացեալս* in SI] for the μοναχοὺς of Soc.

[521] who proclaimed the same opinion as himself, that God was incorporeal. They united, supposing themselves to be defenders of God, and made a tumult. But those who were educated and understood scripture were not led astray by these views. With Dioscoros and his brothers [*they declared*] that *God does not have a body like ours, nor is he incorporeal as we might understand it but as he himself knows, being exempt from [features] perceptible by us.* But the simple-minded and ignorant, being many, engaged in passionate argument against the brothers.

There was a battle between them *at the instigation of the Evil One*⁶¹. The party of Theophilus said that [God] has the form of a man — eyes and ears *and nose* and hands and feet, and whatever is the appearance of man, *save for passions*⁶². In these [circumstances] Theophilus went with a crowd to Nitria, where the hermitages⁶³ are, and inflamed the solitaries⁶⁴ against Dioscoros and his brothers. These were afflicted and scarcely [522] escaped harm⁶⁵.

[VI, 9]⁶⁶ They fled from him and came to Constantinople to the blessed John. They informed him of the troubles which had occurred in Egypt. And he in friendly fashion received the brothers.

CHAPTER 122

How the priest Isidore was slandered

Among them was also a priest Isidore, [once] a friend of Theophilus but now hateful to him through Peter, archpriest of the church of Alexandria, because he rejected him on account of the following suspicion: that he had admitted to divine communion a Manichaean woman before she had been purified of her sect. But he said that she had previously abandoned the sect through him, and summoned Isidore as his witness. He, being unaware of the calumny, testified to the truth. Having been deposed⁶⁷, he came with them to Constantinople, and with them was received into the church in a friendly way. But he [John] held them

⁶¹ Evil One: for such additions see the Introduction, 21-22.

⁶² Passions: *ախտ*, the standard Armenian rendering of the Greek πάθος. For God's freedom from "passion" see Lampe, s.v. πάθος, B.

⁶³ Hermitages: *մենաստանք* [but *միայնարանք* in SI] for the ἀσκητήρια of Soc; cf. p. 517.

⁶⁴ Solitaries: *միայնացեալք* [SI = SII] for the μοναχούς of Soc.

⁶⁵ For the last sentence of ch. 7 see p. 523 below. SII has inserted ch. 8 into ch. 9.

⁶⁶ VI, 9: In SI/Soc: "Theophilus deposes Peter and Isidore."

⁶⁷ SII omits the role of Theophilus in this.

back from participating in divine communion until he might learn the truth of what he had heard. *To them he gave counsel of forgivingness [523] continuously in peace, and unceasingly expounded his famous teaching in the church. The secretaries⁶⁸ could not keep up with his inspired words, full of grace, which flowing as it were from a fountain⁶⁹ gave drink to pious souls. The abundance of his luminous teaching, continuous in the church of God, ever more displeased the malicious.*

CHAPTER 123

How he increased both many hymns and the prayers of the evening praise

[VI, 8]⁷⁰ Furthermore, he multiplied many hymns and prayers in the evening praise⁷¹ according to the significance of the feasts on Sunday and Saturday, *in accordance with the consubstantial faith against the heretics, especially the Arians. These previously used to oppose the orthodox [524] by singing the evening hymns outside in the hearing of many, so that thereby they might ensnare the simple-minded.* Similarly in the morning [they sang hymns] opposing the consubstantial Trinity. *For they said that one was less than the other in their blessings of Father and Son and holy Spirit with loud voice⁷².*

Then⁷³ John was afraid lest any of the simple-minded or credulous be lured away from the church by such hymns. In opposition to them John arranged groups *praising the all-holy Trinity, one in divinity and glory and power, so that these might bless God in their evening blessings and extinguish the blasphemous blessings of the others, and that they might preserve those familiar with the faith from the error of that sect through the true doxology⁷⁴ to the Father and Son and holy Spirit.* This was a good recourse, [525] but it ended in grief.

⁶⁸ Secretaries: *չարագրողք*, for the “stenographers” of SI/Soc; cf. above, p. 501.

⁶⁹ Fountain: as also on p. 542.

⁷⁰ VI, 8: In SI/Soc: “Hymns of the Arians and orthodox.”

⁷¹ Furthermore... praise: this phrase is from the end of ch. 7.

⁷² For Armenian practice in singing the *Trisagion* see van Esbroeck, “Le discours,” 342-4. In this passage “hymn” renders *աւրհնեբարգութիւն* [lit. “the singing of blessing”], and “blessing” renders *աւրհնութիւն*. Less than: cf. the creed on p. 184.

⁷³ Then: The following three paragraphs, SII, p. 524,6-527, are quoted with some omissions in the *Letter of King Gagik in the GT*, 298 [= II, 544].

⁷⁴ Doxology: *փառաբանութիւն*.

They complemented the very splendid praising of the consubstantial Trinity in the evening blessings with crosses and sweet-smelling incense and candles and torches. *As they went around the city they blessed God and stirred the minds of all listeners to the benediction of the all-holy Trinity. In the mornings they offered the benediction of the Trinity to the Son, with sweet voice, saying: "Holy God, holy and powerful, holy immortal, who was crucified for us⁷⁵, have mercy on us."* On hearing this, the Arians became envious at their blessing of God. They provoked a serious onslaught at night; throwing stones they hit and wounded those singing hymns, and some they killed by stoning. There was a battle at night, and many on both sides [526] were wounded and killed. When he heard this, the emperor immediately prevented the Arians from their attacks with threats, and he stopped the singing of evening blessings out of doors. *Instead [he ordered] everyone to bless God in the houses of prayer.*

CHAPTER 124

The reason for the Trisagion, how it is said of the Son

I shall explain the cause of the benediction⁷⁶, *the blessing of the Trinity which is said regarding the Son. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, third from the apostle Peter and their disciple, who is said to have been one of the seventy saints⁷⁷, saw heavenly hosts of angels who were blessing the all-holy Trinity with the Trisagion⁷⁸, as they offered glory to the one divinity. [527] They offered the same glory also with regard to the Son ineffably with the Trisagion. This benediction, which refers to the mystery of Christ, was imprinted on his mind. And saint Ignatius handed this down in the church of Antioch for eves and the following day. From*

⁷⁵ Who was crucified for us: an addition to the *Trisagion* by Peter the Fuller [patriarch of Antioch 470-88 with interruptions] which became standard in Armenia. See Garsoïan, *Schisme*, 144, 216-8, with references to Armenian sources. According to the reference to this passage of Socrates in the *Letter* attributed to Step'annos Siwnec'i, *GT'*, 330 [= II, 508], John Chrysostom introduced the addition to the *Trisagion* having read it in Origen.

⁷⁶ Benediction: *սրբասացութիւն*. *Trisagion* renders the Armenian *երեք սրբասացութիւնք*, lit. "triple benediction."

⁷⁷ This seems to be the earliest Armenian reference to Ignatius as one of the "seventy." In the *GT'*, 50, he is called "the fruitful plant of the apostles."

⁷⁸ *Trisagion*: here SI/Soc read "antiphonal hymns." This passage is mentioned by Sahak III in his *Discours*, §67. See van Esbroeck's discussion, 342-4.

there it was given to and preserved in all the churches. *And he says that all rites of the church were established by Ignatius*⁷⁹.

[VI, 9]⁸⁰ [528] When Theophilus heard that those expelled by him had been received into communion by John, *he prepared to go to them.* [529] *And these false ones even more defamed him to the blessed one, that he was envious of John.* Then he sent a letter around the cities to the bishops, so that he might be able to avenge himself on John and the men who had taken refuge with him. He hid his intention and condemned the writings of Origen, which before him the testimony of Athanasius [had used] in the fight against the faith of the Arians.

[VI, 10]⁸¹ Theophilus made a pact in writing with Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, because he had previously been disunited with him concerning [530] the understanding of God in human form. Theophilus, because of the hatred and envy which he had, denied these declarations [and] what he had clearly professed: *that thus the man had taken form in accordance with the occasion and necessity.* Theophilus persuaded him to convene the bishops in Cyprus and to denounce the writings of Origen. Now Epiphanius, being exceedingly naive in character, trusted Theophilus's letter, convened an assembly, and rejected Origen's writings. Epiphanius also sent a letter to John [urging him] to avoid the books of Origen and not to accept or read them.

[531] *John also gathered an assembly and was in agreement with what they had done in opposition to them*⁸². When Theophilus learned this, he convened a council of many bishops and came to Epiphanius in opposition to the books of Origen, *who more than two hundred years previously had been accepted by the holy fathers*⁸³; *that base one they rejected*⁸⁴. The concern of Theophilus was not for this, but that he might evilly vanquish the pious men who had taken refuge with John, *of whom he was envious because of his superior grace and renowned reputation*⁸⁵. But John was totally unconcerned. Then Theophilus made it clear to all that

⁷⁹ SII does not identify his source.

⁸⁰ SII returns to ch. 9

⁸¹ VI, 10: In SI/Soc: "Debate over Origen's works."

⁸² The sense of the Armenian here is unclear. In agreement with: *ընտրակից*, not attested in the *NBHL*, would seem to mean "sharing the same choice."

⁸³ But SI/Soc: "who had been dead nearly 200 years."

⁸⁴ Base one: *խոտան*. But SII praises the works of Origen below, ch. 12, addition on p. 538.

⁸⁵ Renowned reputation: *Հրշակեալ յանուանէ*. Akinean, "P'ok'r Sokrat," 176, notes other texts with this phrase, e.g. MX, III, 3, of Saint Gregory.

[he wished] to depose John *for holding the opinion of Origen*. Then those who had enmity towards the blessed John because of his reprimanding their faults were moved to oppose him, many of the clergy and also many [532] of the nobility *at the wish of the empress, who had rancour for him because of his condemnation of her errors*⁸⁶. These impious ones found an opportunity and planned to convene a council at Constantinople. [VI, 11]⁸⁷ Hatred towards *the blessed man of God John* was even more increased by Severian, a Syrian by race, bishop in Gabala. He had been honoured by John, and was known to the emperor *and the empress* and the magnates. He possessed rhetorical skill and was celebrated *in the eulogies of the magnates*.

[533]

CHAPTER 125

*The coming of the holy John to Ephesus to ordain a bishop,
and the accusation of Serapion*

John had occasion to go to Ephesus and to ordain there bishops in the places of those who had died⁸⁸, and to arrange church affairs in the various cities, uniting the Novatians to the churches of God and [arranging the celebration of] Easter in accordance with our practice. He delayed his return in these matters *to celebrate Easter*.

[534] Now Serapion the calumniator, whom we mentioned above⁸⁹, being a deacon, *was united with* the bishop Severian⁹⁰. In their arrogance they deceived many of the simple-minded to reject the teachings of John. And those who hated John were even more zealous for his fall. This was not hidden from John; but the blessed John paid no attention at all to what was said about him. [535] On his return to Constantinople he was insulted by them, who had a plan for the council. But awe of the blessed one restored them to respect. However, he [Severian] did not cease from perverting the clergy and the people. Nonetheless, John expelled him from the city and did not accept the pleas of interceders for him.

⁸⁶ SI/Soc merely refer to nobility "of the court."

⁸⁷ VI, 11: In SI/Soc: "Severian works for John's downfall."

⁸⁸ Plural in SII for the [unnamed] bishop of SI/Soc.

⁸⁹ See ch. 4.

⁹⁰ But Soc refers to the enmity of Serapion and Severian. Although SI abbreviates here, omitting the reference in Soc to dissension between the two, SII has changed the sense.

Then the empress Eudoxia *sent*⁹¹ her son Theodosius, for he was a child, and falling at the feet of the blessed one she begged him [536] *to forgive her faults*⁹². He did not disregard her and carried out the request. But she did not give up her familiar evil intention.

[VI, 12]⁹³ Not much later bishop Epiphanius came to Constantinople, enticed by Theophilus. On coming to the chapel of John the apostle, which was seven miles distant from the city, there he convened an assembly and performed ordinations⁹⁴. Then he entered the city.

He turned aside from John in his opinions, and ordered Theophilus to lodge separately and the assembled bishops [to come] to him. He read to them their anathemas concerning Origen. [537] *Before Epiphanius they gathered in the morning*⁹⁵. Some, respecting Epiphanius, signed; but many refrained, knowing the truth. Theotimos, bishop of Scythia, said: “*Oh man of God, Epiphanius; we are not willing to destroy the books of the former holy fathers that are still accepted, of Gregory the Wonderworker, I mean, and of Athanasius, and of others, and to reject those of Origen. But it is necessary to know the harm and the profit [which derive] from them for the churches.*”

[538] They introduced the books of Origen and read *them one by one*⁹⁶ before them all, which indicated the expression of the church of God *beautifully composed to the glory of God. But Theophilus and those of his party usurped the simple-minded intention of Epiphanius. These showed a good book deceives the simple-minded*⁹⁷, and to receive things harmful [is] for the destruction of souls, but that it is necessary to separate completely from that man and his compositions, although he was accepted by the former [fathers]⁹⁸.

[VI, 14]⁹⁹ [540] Now the blessed John remained until the conclusion of the deliberation of the council. He was not angry at the ordinations which Epiphanius had conducted in his churches outside the canons, but demonstrated friendship and trust to the brothers. But the deceivers did

⁹¹ Sent: *unwpt*, for “brought,” in SI/Soc. There may be confusion with *unwpting*, “[the church] of the apostles” where this episode occurred, which SII omits.

⁹² To forgive her faults: in place of “to be reconciled with Severian” in SI/Soc.

⁹³ VI, 12: In SI/Soc: “Epiphanius in Constantinople.”

⁹⁴ But SI/Soc only refer to the ordination of one deacon; see p. 541.

⁹⁵ Here SII adds the name “Theophilus” immediately after “Origen,” but the verb “gathered” is plural.

⁹⁶ But SI/Soc refer to “one book.”

⁹⁷ The meaning of this sentence in SII is not clear.

⁹⁸ SII omits ch. 13: in SI/Soc: “The defence of Origen.”

⁹⁹ VI, 14: In SI/Soc: “Epiphanius and John.”

not cease from perverting the wishes of Epiphanius. John sent and summoned Epiphanius to the church, but he did not go because his perfidious ones did not wish, and he was unaware of this. Epiphanius sent to John that he should expel Dioscorus [541] and his brothers and pronounce anathemas on Origen and his compositions. *Then John, on receiving this, delayed. He said: "It is not right to be presumptuous against the holy traditions and to do anything beyond the rules of the fathers who preceded us." So Epiphanius arose, went away and reached the church of John the apostle where he had conducted the ordination. He remained to see the outcome of events.* Immediately John sent to Epiphanius.

"O Epiphanius, *through simple-mindedness* you were enticed outside the canons and you did not pay heed at all to conduct ordinations with [my] authority in the churches which are under me. For although I do not act as pastor for those ordained by you, yet be careful, O man of God, lest you create companions in sin of those whom you reckoned to yourself as worthy of good work. [542] *And this statement I pass on, that if I have justification with God for their inciting you against me, you will not reach your churches but will die on a voyage by sea. But if you did this justly, you will write to me from your church, and I shall do what you command, O man of God.*"

*He sent a response to this letter. "O blessed John, fountain¹⁰⁰ of the church, if I have plotted to do anything against you wickedly or illegally, you will be led to a repetition of exile from your church; if not, you will die there. If I have not sinned in ignorance, may you forgive me, and I [shall forgive] you. If there was anything also in your person, especially that the prayers of us both may be to God for our mutual forgiveness, [543] being unaware of human affairs."*¹⁰¹ *The outcome of both their statements was in accordance with this declaration*¹⁰².

Then immediately embarking on a ship he departed. He did not reach his destination, his own church, but there on the ship death befell him in accordance with the saying of the blessed John.

¹⁰⁰ Fountain: as on p. 523, 557, and also of John in MX, III, 57. For this metaphor applied to prophets or apostles see Lampe, s.v. πηγή.

¹⁰¹ The meaning of this last sentence is unclear.

¹⁰² In SI/Soc: Epiphanius is reported to have said: "I hope that you will not die a bishop."

CHAPTER 126

Council of bishops concerning John, and their exiling him

[VI, 15]¹⁰³ After these events the empress and Theophilus did not cease from such plotting. And the empress and Theophilus swayed the emperor's will to the will of the council.

Those assembled summoned John to the council¹⁰⁴. [544] But he did not agree to go, although he was summoned four times. The organiser of the council after Theophilus was Severian, *who was mentioned above*¹⁰⁵. [545] But he [John], knowing their mindless intention of wickedness, did not agree to go. Then they, *having no choice*¹⁰⁶, decided to depose him. They were unable to express any reasons save the following: [546] "Although we summoned him often, he did not come to our council." This moved his congregation to great anger. And since they were spending the night there, they did not allow the soldiers to remove the blessed one from the church, but cried out and said: "*For what reason are you exiling this man of God?*"

When the blessed one knew this, to prevent a disturbance in the crowd he hid himself from the people, and escaping gave himself up *to the soldiers* to be taken wherever they might wish.

[VI, 16]¹⁰⁷ When they did not find their pastor, the flock with much weeping fell into turmoil [547] and deep mourning. Then Severian, standing in the church, said: "For no other cause was John condemned to be at fault, but it was sufficient for him to be arrogant in anathemas. He reprimanded with words and with admonitions. He was expelled for the reason that all sins will be forgiven men, but not the proud. 'For the Lord is opposed to the proud *and gives grace to the humble*'."¹⁰⁸ *On hearing this, the congregation expelled Severian from the church with insults as a blasphemer, and continued to seek their own pastor and illuminator.*

¹⁰³ VI, 15: In SI/Soc: "John is expelled."

¹⁰⁴ At "The Oak," a suburb of Chalcedon, in July 403.

¹⁰⁵ See p. 532 above.

¹⁰⁶ Having no choice: *անընտրողք եղեալք* for SI, *Հանընտրողք եղին*, "were in agreement," an addition to the text of Soc.

¹⁰⁷ VI, 16: In SI/Soc: "John is recalled."

¹⁰⁸ SII completes the quotation from James 4. 6 = I Pet. 5. 5.

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CHAPTER 127

The consternation of the city concerning John and the glorious introduction of John into the church; and the anger of Theophilus at the return of John

There was consternation in the city, and *even for the empress*, when it was known that this had happened to him. *After not a few days of repentance a command was issued by the emperor to restore the blessed John to his throne and church.*

The messengers sent by the *emperor*¹⁰⁹, since he was in the *island*¹¹⁰ opposite Nicomedia, brought him with many entreaties. He did not wish to enter the city. The whole city was in a commotion before him, and with great desire and joy they longed to see him. But he held himself back from entering the city, so that they might know that the justice of the tribunal would be examined. The people did not heed him, but forcibly led him into the church [549] *in pomp and honour and in procession, with crosses and incense and lights*¹¹¹, and installed him on the *patriarchal* throne. For in this way with ardent hearts they desired to hear his words. *So in accordance with his reflection on the past events he spoke beautifully composed homilies for the edification of the people of God, to the glory and praise of the all-holy Trinity.*

[VI, 17]¹¹² [550] When Theophilus heard that John had returned to the throne, he was angry and planned to calumniate the man of God. The intention of *Severian*¹¹³, bishop of Thrace, agreed with his, *and Satan himself fueled their evil jealousy*¹¹⁴.

¹⁰⁹ Emperor: According to SI/Soc, the empress sent a eunuch.

¹¹⁰ Island: According to SI/Soc, Praenetum on the shore.

¹¹¹ For additions concerning processions cf. above, p. 114.

¹¹² VI, 17: In SI/Soc: "Theophilus plots against John."

¹¹³ Severian: Serapion in SI/Soc.

¹¹⁴ Satan: see the Introduction, 21-22.

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CHAPTER 128

*How the empress Eudoxia arranged games near to Saint Sophia,
and was reprimanded by John*

[VI, 18]¹¹⁵ After not much time the empress Eudoxia erected a statue on a porphyry column for public games, near to the church called *Saint Sophia*. [552] Then the blessed *John prevented the inappropriate games opposed to God, and* condemned her actions. When the empress heard this, she was furious and planned to seek vengeance on John, as she considered herself to have been dishonoured by him. She decided to convene an assembly for his downfall, *and wrote to Theophilus that he should come with many bishops*. On being apprised of this, John in his teaching to women made admonition, and added this regarding her: “Once more [553] Herodias is mad and seeks the head of John,”¹¹⁶ which homily he delivered in the *great church*¹¹⁷.

This reached the ears of the empress and enflamed her even more to evil. She incited the emperor to anger over the insult to her. Not much later *Theophilus*¹¹⁸ arrived in Constantinople with many bishops. and once more moved the emperor and empress to anger. But John at the will of God stood up and trusted in a just trial. Now on the feast of the Nativity the emperor did not come to church to John according to his custom: “[I shall not come] until I know the right.” [554] But the bishops were unable to condemn him of anything else save that he had again taken his throne without a council of bishops.

¹¹⁵ VI, 18: In SI/Soc: “The statue of the empress; John is exiled again.”

¹¹⁶ Cf. Mt. 14. 6-11; Mk. 6. 19-28.

¹¹⁷ See *Clavis*, II, no. 4570, with references to the Greek text and the Armenian and other versions.

¹¹⁸ According to SI/Soc, ch. 17, Theophilus had returned to Alexandria. SII omits the names of the “many bishops.”

[555]

CHAPTER 129

Once more the holy John is expelled into exile in the regions of Armenia at the will of the empress; and there God's holy one died

[VI, 21]¹¹⁹ *But because it was the wish of the empress and of those jealous ones who held the presidency of the council, Theophilus and Severian and the other haters of the holy one, the blessed John was exiled to the regions of Pontus near Armenia and to their cities¹²⁰. After these many events, he died on the 14th of the month of September¹²¹, and much mourning gripped his congregation. The saying of Epiphanius was fulfilled concerning John's not returning again to his throne.*

He left many memorials in writings, beautifully composed for the profit of the people and church of God, which no one could number. Thus he was praised and honoured, not only in his own churches and congregations; but in the whole world [557] he was praised as a fountain for the universal church, which by its luminous teachers waters the thirst of pious souls.

The empress endured no few terrors on account of her evil [conduct] towards the man of God, and she indeed died repenting of her actions. The emperor made mourning at this point. And when he heard of the death of John the man of God, he was cast into doubt¹²².

¹¹⁹ The order is changed here in SII; see just below at n. 126.

¹²⁰ According to Soc John was exiled "to Comana of the Euxine Pontus." In SI this becomes "to the regions, *κηρηδωνου*, of the Euxine Pontus," where *κηρηδωνου* may well be a corruption of "Komana." SII omits "Euxine," but adds the reference to Armenia; what "their cities" means is unclear.

¹²¹ As SI/Soc in ch. 21 below; this was in the year 407.

¹²² SII omits ch. 19: "Arsacius becomes bishop of Constantinople."

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CHAPTER 130

Atticus succeeds to the patriarchate of Constantinople

[VI, 20]¹²³ After this they summoned as his successor to the same throne of the *patriarchate*¹²⁴ Atticus, who was by origin from Sebastia of Armenia. From his youth he had led an ascetic life. He was *a fearer of God, mild and gentle, wise and chaste*¹²⁵, *but in eloquence feeble at teaching.*

[VI, 21]¹²⁶ [559] He [John] did not lack for compositions, but because of his zeal for virtue more than often when angered he caused shame by his words. By grace and modesty through his way of life his tongue employed the most audacious expressions; and most amazing he appeared in this, teaching to all greater zeal for virtue.

*He said: "There is no more honourable offering than purity from passions after baptism."*¹²⁷ *And thus the blessed John through his compositions comforted the people to remain immoveable in his rules.*

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CHAPTER 131

Concerning Sisinnius, the Novatian bishop

[VI, 22]¹²⁸ Now of Sisinnius, the Novatian bishop whom I mentioned *above*¹²⁹, I shall speak a little. He was eloquent and perfected in the philosophical [sciences], and accurately expounded the divine scriptures, so that the schismatic Eunomius evaded him¹³⁰. Even in his elaborate food he was modest, and he wore white garments; in the evening and

¹²³ VI, 20: In SI/Soc: "Atticus becomes bishop of Constantinople."

¹²⁴ Patriarchate: the usual change from "bishopric" in SII. Atticus was bishop from March 406 to October 425.

¹²⁵ Chaste: *νηφελος*, which often renders *σωφρων*. "Virtue" at the end of the next paragraph is the abstract noun *νηφελοςμολη*; see also p. 574.

¹²⁶ VI, 21: In SI/Soc: "The death of John." SII had briefly alluded to this in the long addition, p. 555-7 above.

¹²⁷ SI/Soc note that John accepted those who sinned after baptism.

¹²⁸ VI, 22: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Sisinnius."

¹²⁹ See p. 490.

¹³⁰ See IV, 7, for Eunomius and his attempts at biblical exegesis.

morning he washed in the *royal*¹³¹ baths. Some people asked him: "Why, as bishop, do you wash twice?" [561] He replied: "Because I do not have time for a third." Again, on being asked about his white clothing, he said: "Where in scripture is there a command that a bishop be dressed in black clothing?" When the questioners were disconcerted at the reply, Sisinnius said: "Because Solomon so urges, saying: 'Let your garments be white'¹³². And the Lord appeared in white clothing according to the gospel. And not only this, but he also showed to the apostles Moses and Elias in white clothing."¹³³ By saying these things he astonished his hearers.

[563]

CHAPTER 132

Concerning the death of Arcadius, and the renewal of the wall of Constantinople

[VI, 23]¹³⁴ Not many days after the death of the blessed John death befell also the mild and gentle emperor Arcadius¹³⁵. Praise for this lover of God was reported in the following manner. In Constantinople there was a large house of prayer, and in its courtyard a large nut-tree from which it was said the martyr Acacius was hung *with a good confession*¹³⁶. For this reason [564] a house of prayer was built beside the tree. On seeing this the emperor Arcadius desired to go and pray in that place, and then returned. Many people had gathered to see the emperor, some around the house and others on the roof. So heavy was their weight on the house that the house completely collapsed, yet no one was hurt in such a large multitude.

¹³¹ Royal: *արքայական*, as SI, for "public" in Soc. Cf. above, p. 305, for the same rendering.

¹³² Eccles. 9. 8.

¹³³ Cf. Mt. 17. 2; Mk. 9. 2; Lk. 9. 29.

¹³⁴ VI, 23: In SI/Soc: "The death of Arcadius."

¹³⁵ Arcadius died on 1 May 408.

¹³⁶ In the Armenian *Life of Acacius*, VV, I, 68-88, he is said to have been beheaded outside Byzantium in 303. The nut-tree appears in the account of Theophanes, *Chronicle*, XIII, 38. "With a good confession:" a topos; cf. p. 269.

Those who by his prayers had been saved from destruction all raised a cry at the miracle, blessed God and praised the emperor. To these things all bore witness. The pious emperor Arcadius left his [co-] regnant son Theodosius as emperor¹³⁷. He died, having lived for thirty-two¹³⁸ years, [565] having reigned with his father for thirteen years, and after his father's death for fourteen years, on the first of the month of May in the 297th Olympiad¹³⁹. *Thus he lived, and in these circumstances [met] a glorious death.*

¹³⁷ Theodosius II, reigned 1/5/408-28/7/450.

¹³⁸ 32: 31 in SI/Soc.

¹³⁹ 297: as SI/Soc. Hansen, note ad loc, indicates that it was in fact the 296th Olympiad.

[BOOK VII]

[566]

[VII, 1]¹ The young Theodosius came to the throne as a child. Beginning from the age of eight he *led a well-ordered life* and governed his empire through the eparch Anthemius. He surrounded Constantinople with a wall, [being] wiser than his predecessors; for he was prudent at the oversight of affairs great and small, and lacked nothing in understanding and expediency for practical affairs. Therefore he undertook almost everything in consultation with everyone.

[567]

CHAPTER 133

Concerning the life and admonitions of Atticus

[VII, 2]² When the emperor Theodosius came to the throne at the age of eight, Atticus was in the third year of his summons to the *patriarchate*³. He was pious and naturally wise; therefore the churches under him he raised⁴ to the most grand condition. Not only did he receive in love those belonging to his own faith, [568] he also received with sagacity and friendship the schismatics and never urged that they be troubled, but rather he attracted them through gentleness. He did not hesitate to speak with them in simple words from the holy scriptures. He read the [works] of the old [writers] and from them verified the statement of faith⁵. *The philosophers did not reckon him foreign*⁶. He was glad to his opponent⁷, and to the sad he was sympathetic. In brief, in accordance with the apostle he was “all things to all men,”⁸ so that he might profit many. Previous to his summons he had taught the word in the church with modesty.

¹ VII, 1: In SI/Soc: “The eparch Anthemius.”

² VII, 2: In SI/Soc: “Concerning Atticus, bishop of Constantinople.”

³ Patriarchate: the usual change in SII for the “bishopric” of CP; cf. p. 59 above. The third year of Atticus, beginning in March 408, corresponds with the year of accession of Theodosius II.

⁴ Raised: the *վերադրելի* of SI has become *վերագրելի* in SII, “inscribed,” *d* and *g* being easily confused in Armenian script.

⁵ Old: *զևոյն*, singular, implying the OT; but “from them,” in the plural, implies a variety of authors.

⁶ A curious inversion of SI/Soc: “he was not unacquainted with the philosophers.”

⁷ To his opponent: SI/Soc read “to those who met him,” *Հանդիպողացն*, which SII has changed to *յանդիրմանող այնմ*.

⁸ I Cor. 9. 22.

After this in accordance with God's grace he acquired confidence and taught in public. His words were not such *as those of the blessed John*, that his audience eagerly had them written down. [569] But he composed simple discourses *for their advantage*. So this much has been said about Atticus and his way of life and admonitions.

CHAPTER 134

Concerning Theodosius, bishop of Synada in Phrygia, and his afflicting Agapetus, the Macedonian bishop

But I shall describe as many [things] as are worthy of record in his time.

[VII, 3]⁹ In the city of Synada in Phrygia bishop Theodosius rabidly persecuted the *schismatics*¹⁰, especially the Macedonians *who fought against the Spirit*. He did this not rightly for zeal of God, but because of his passion for avarice, as he collected their possessions from the *schismatics*. For that reason he incited everyone against them and did not leave them in peace, [570] but was perpetually tormenting them with various strategies and trials, especially the Macedonian bishop Agapetus. Being intelligent, he came to a wise decision in favour of the orthodox faith, and persuaded his congregation to accept the orthodox faith in consubstantiality. He came to Constantinople and immediately with his congregation entered the church. He offered prayers and confessed the unity of the consubstantial Trinity, [571] *distinguishing the individuality of the three hypostases*¹¹.

On seeing this, Atticus with all [the people] glorified God, and with great honour and love received them into union with the churches of God. When he heard this, bishop Theodosius was even more angry. He too came to Constantinople, and said that these events were *subversion*¹². But Atticus calmed Theodosius, persuading him humbly to bear no malice toward the repentant brother. He should rejoice and not be

⁹ VII, 3: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Theodosius, bishop of Synada."

¹⁰ Schismatics: Հերձաւծողք, as also just below, agreeing with SI against the "heretics" of Soc.

¹¹ Hypostasis: զաւրութիւն, a standard Armenian rendering, literally, "power." Cf. the "Persons" of the Trinity, p. 373.

¹² Subversion: SI/Soc have "unlawful," անիրաւարար, which SII has altered to Հրապարանս.

upset. In this way he moved him to reconciliation and peaceful friendship, and confirmed him in the faith. In a letter he bade Agapetus to retain the bishopric *and to care for the congregation with orthodox faith*, and to have no worry about his bishopric from Theodosius. *With such sweet will he reconciled them together, and with love sent them back to their churches.*

[572]

CHAPTER 135

Concerning the Jewish paralytic, how he was cured on being baptised

[VII, 4]¹³ There was a certain Jew at that time, a paralytic who had taken to his bed for many years and had found no help from anywhere — neither from Jewish prayers nor from medical skill. He had sold many possessions, and after that took refuge in holy baptism with whole-hearted faith. Of this he informed bishop Agapetus. Then he catechised him and preached to him the hope in Christ, and he taught him the confession [573] and knowledge of the right faith. He ordered him to be brought to baptism on his bed. And when he had completed the ceremony of baptism, he emerged from the font fully cured. *We ourselves were eyewitnesses of this miracle which was apparent to all, who glorified God*¹⁴. Many of the heathens, on seeing [this] believed and were baptised. But the Jews, who sought to see a sign, did not believe *in accordance with their unrepentant hearts. But when reproved by the healed Jew, they believed*¹⁵.

[574]

CHAPTER 136

Concerning the synod which Atticus wished to convene [concerning] the Novatians, who wanted to celebrate Easter with the Jews

[VII, 5]¹⁶ *At that same time Atticus wished to convene a council regarding the church of the Novatians who celebrated Easter with the Jews,*

¹³ VII, 4: "A paralytic Jew is healed."

¹⁴ Soc says that this occurred "in our times."

¹⁵ Cf. p. 601 below regarding another miracle involving a Jew, and p. 268 above for Jewish conversions.

¹⁶ VII, 5: In SI/Soc: "Sabbatius and the celebration of Easter."

*and to discover the cause concerning this question. They gathered in the presence of Sisinnius, head of the Novatians, and of Atticus*¹⁷, and read the gospel of the unleavened bread, which said: "It was the feast of the Jews called Pascha."¹⁸ Then he pronounced anathema on whoever celebrates Easter outside the [feast] of unleavened bread. No one had heard this *from the gospels*; and those who were *of the most sound mind*¹⁹ withdrew [because of] such foolish words. *With fraudulent arguments* [575] *Sabbatius, who held the opinion of the Jews, enticed them away and did not agree with those who express the truth of the gospel.*

Not much later he celebrated the same feast with a numerous crowd, and *according to habit* at the night service some demonic perturbation fell upon them. *Then*²⁰ *Sisinnius the bishop of Constantinople*²¹ came at night with a crowd to attack them, *so that he might prevent the Easter [celebration]*. There was confusion and turmoil; one hundred and seventy men died, being knocked down by each other. When this had happened, those who had left Sabbatius *came to Sisinnius*, but a few remained with him.

[576]

CHAPTER 137

*How Timotheus and George brought many to consubstantiality.
And Cyril succeeds Theophilus [in] the city of Alexandria*

[VII, 6]²² Dorotheus, the bishop of the Arians, being an old man, died and Barbas took his place. By him two men, orators, [received] priesthood; their names were Timotheus and George, *wise men*²³. Timotheus was of the sect of the Psathyrians. He was continually *leading an ascetic*

¹⁷ This section has been much changed from SI: Sabbatius held gatherings with Sisinnius.

¹⁸ Pascha: *quumhly*, as SI, the standard Armenian term for Pascha and Easter. Cf. Mk. 14. 1 for the identification of *quumhly* with the feast of unleaven bread.

¹⁹ Of the most sound mind: *ողջախոհազորյնք*, as SI, for the ἀκερατοί, "simple, sincere," of Soc. Although *ողջախոհ* normally means "chaste, continent," here the literal etymology, "of sound mind," seems more appropriate; cf. above, p. 558.

²⁰ Then: SI/Soc: "as if [Sisinnius were attacking]."

²¹ I.e. the Novatian bishop just mentioned, not the "patriarch" who succeeded Atticus, p. 639 below.

²² VII, 6: In SI/Soc: "Many Arians are brought to orthodoxy."

²³ SII has run together the descriptions of Timothy and George, who are clearly separated in SI/Soc. SII would be difficult to comprehend without reference to the Greek.

life in divine [things], and speaking and explaining divine things from scripture. He was learned in the Hebrew tongue; and [George was] not unfamiliar with Aristotle and Plato and the writings of Origen. [577] This last said that the Son and Spirit were co-eternal with the Father, and not like the Arians. George [was ordained] by Barbas; he was very learned in the arts and secular wisdom. For Plato did not say that the second and third cause — as he was accustomed to call them — received a beginning to their existence. Although they joined them, yet they tempered their blasphemy and they brought many of the Arians to a declaration of consubstantiality in accordance with the right teaching. [578] Now at these same [times] the bishop of the Novatians also died, and Chrysanthus took the succession, of whom I shall speak later. [VII, 7]²⁴ Not much later Theophilus, the bishop of Alexandria, succumbing to a severe urinary illness, and unable to find healing from anywhere, died²⁵. Some [wished for] Timotheus, and many others Cyril, the nephew of Theophilus. On the second²⁶ day [579] after the death of Theophilus Cyril was ordained and installed on the throne of the patriarchate²⁷. He showed himself to be more forceful than Theophilus and an avenger of the right faith. Then he closed the church²⁸ of the Novatians and took away the vessels of the church, and abolished the bishopric²⁹ of the Novatians.

CHAPTER 138

What sort of reason was the beginning of Christianity in Persia through saint Marutha

[VII, 8]³⁰ At that time the beginning of Christianity in Persia occurred through the following reason. Between the Romans and the Persians there were continuous embassies on the affairs of the kings. Then the emperor *Theodosius* sent Marutha, [580] the bishop of Mesopotamia, a

²⁴ VII, 7: In SI/Soc: "Cyril becomes bishop of Alexandria."

²⁵ On 15 October 412.

²⁶ Second: but "third" in SI/Soc.

²⁷ Patriarchate: for the "bishopric" of SI/Soc; see above, p. 59. Cyril II was bishop of Alexandria 17/10/412-27/6/444.

²⁸ Church: churches, in SI/Soc.

²⁹ Abolished the bishopric: SI/Soc: "removed all he possessed from their bishop Theopompus."

³⁰ VII, 8: In SI/Soc: "Christianity in Persia."

just and holy man and a fearer of God, *on some business*³¹ to the Persian king. He received him with honour on account of his piety and very righteous way of life, and respected his way of life as that of a lover of God. This offended the magi and many of the Persians, [fearful] lest the king become a Christian through him. For the magi could not cure the king of the pain in his head which he had. This the saint of God Marutha cured through prayer, *and the magi were even more inflamed to envy and evil.*

Since the king was accustomed to go to the house of fire, they plotted and made an invisible pit in the house of fire. *The magi*³² entered [this], and when the king came to the house of fire to pray, a voice came from the entrance to the pit, addressing the king: [581] “*Do not keep that priest of the Christians with you, but expel him.*” When king Isdikert³³ heard this, he supposed that the voice of God was coming from the fire. He was thrown into doubt, although he respected the man, and intended to dismiss him. But Marutha prayed *in order to discover this trickery, and when God made this matter known [to him]*, he said to the king: “Do not hesitate, O king. Investigate the tricksters in the house of fire and you will find that the magi cause the voice from the pit, which you supposed [to come] from the fire.”

Being thus advised, the king again went to worship the inextinguishable fire, and heard the same voice. On investigating, he found *the magi*³⁴ in the pit whence the voice issued. He was angry at the magi, *and took from them a tenth of all their goods*³⁵, [582] and loved the man of God even more. The king bade Marutha build churches wherever he might wish. From this Christianity in Persia took its beginning, *and they believed and were baptised.*

Then Marutha left Persia and came to Constantinople, *and whatever was the mutual policy of the kings was brought to a good conclusion.*

³¹ As so often SII is deliberately vague. Marutha made two visits to the Persian king, one to Shapuh III [383-388] and one to Yazkerd I [399-420]; see Ortiz de Urbina, 52, with references to hagiographical sources. For a translation of the Armenian text in VV, II, 17-32, see Marcus. Although Soc refers to the second visit explicitly on p. 582, he wrongly states that the first visit occurred in the reign of Yazkerd.

³² The magi: SI/Soc: “a man was hidden there by the magi.”

³³ It is astonishing that SII did not recognise the name as Yazkert, so well known from the *History* of Etiše and other Armenian texts. The Armenian text in VV, II, 17-32 refers to “Yazkert.”

³⁴ The magi: “the man,” in SI/Soc.

³⁵ SII has not understood the sense of “decimated,” *ասանորդեաց* in SI. Goods: *աստուածոց*, lit. “gods(!),” which is presumably a later corruption of *ասածուածոց*, [a tenth of their] “possessions.”

Once more he was sent to Persia, and the magi devised means whereby they might be able to prevent the man of God from being received by the king. They made a foul smell by some device where the king came forth. [583] They said that this smell was caused by him³⁶. But the king, on investigating, discovered that the smell [originated] among the magi, and punished them. Marutha he honoured and loved all the more. *He was on good terms with Theodosius, the Roman emperor, and welcomed the affection returned by him.* He was eager for Christianity, having experienced the miracles of Marutha and of the bishop of Persia. For they expelled the demon that afflicted the king's son through continual prayer and fasting. The Persian king was of the intention to turn to Christianity³⁷. *But before he had received the completion of faith in Christ and illuminating baptism, death befell him.*

His son Barbalis³⁸ took over the kingdom and dissolved the treaty between the Persians and Romans; *and Marutha returned.*

[584]

CHAPTER 139

Concerning the bishops of Antioch and of Rome, and how Celestine took away the churches of the Novatians

[VII, 9]³⁹ Then Flavian, the bishop of Antioch, died and Porphyry succeeded to his position; and after Porphyry, Alexander⁴⁰. In Rome Damasus died after holding the church for eighteen years, and after him Severios⁴¹ for seventeen⁴² years, and after him Anastasius for three years⁴³. [586] After Anastasius, Innocentios; and he began to persecute the Novatians who were in Rome, and confiscated many churches⁴⁴.

³⁶ Him: the Christians, in SI/Soc.

³⁷ The Armenian *Life* in VV, II, has no reference to Yazkert's being near conversion! Cf. the apocryphal conversion of Xosrov I Anuširvan reported by Sebēos, 69.

³⁸ Barbalis: for "Barbanis," in SI rendering "Barabanes" in Soc, i.e. Vram V, 420-438. Again SII did not recognise a name well known to Armenian historians.

³⁹ VII, 9: In SI/Soc: "Bishops in Antioch and Rome."

⁴⁰ Flavian died in September 404. Porphyry, 404-414; Alexander, 414-424.

⁴¹ Severios: "Siricius" in SI/Soc.

⁴² 17: 15, in SI/Soc; for the easy confusion between 5 and 7 cf. the Introduction, 13.

⁴³ Damasus died in December 384. He was followed by Siricius, not "Severios," 384-399; Anastasius, 399-401, Innocent I, 401-417.

⁴⁴ SII omits ch. 10: "Alaric sacks Rome."

[VII, 11]⁴⁵ After two years he died⁴⁶. And after him Bonifatius held [the bishopric] for three years; and after him Celestine, [587] who took over the churches of the Novatians and oppressed their bishop so that they made their gatherings secretly. For up to that time they had been numerous and were continually increasing. But *their well-wishers were opposed by the Romans and likewise by the Alexandrians. Therefore, taking away everything [of theirs] for the sake of the consubstantial confession*, they did not expel them from the city. Those in Constantinople did not endure this; but after confirming them, [they allowed them] to gather in the city, as was described above.

[VII, 12]⁴⁷ When Sisinnius died, Chrysanthus held the bishopric, not willingly but after being dragged to it *by force*, and because he was a wise man. And he greatly increased the churches of the Novatians [under] him.

[589]

CHAPTER 140

How the Jews were expelled from the city of Alexandria by the patriarch, saint Cyril

[VII, 13]⁴⁸ In those times the Jews were expelled from Alexandria by Cyril, the *patriarch*⁴⁹ of Alexandria, because the Alexandrians are turbulent and love conflict. There were games on the sabbath day, and the Jews being unoccupied — not in diligence to the Law, [590] but in leisure at the spectacles — there occurred conflict between the Jews and the Christians. They overcame the Christians and remained unharmed, but they retained their anger.

There was a certain man, a teacher of the church, *who gathered his pupils and organised them in the name of the apostles*. On seeing him *with his pupils*, a crowd of Jews became suspicious and reckoned [591] *the crowd of pupils*⁵⁰ [as set] against themselves. They rushed on *them*

⁴⁵ VII, 11: In SI/Soc: "Bishops of Rome."

⁴⁶ He: SII has omitted Zosimus [March 417- December 418]; this is not the Innocent of the previous sentence. Bonifatius, 418-422; Celestine I, 422-432.

⁴⁷ VII, 12: In SI/Soc: "Chrysanthus becomes bishop of Constantinople."

⁴⁸ VII, 13: In SI/Soc: "Expulsion of Jews from Alexandria."

⁴⁹ Patriarch: cf. p. 59.

⁵⁰ Crowd of pupils: In SI/Soc this is simply referred to Hierax, the "certain man" of SII.

with a shout and caused *them* harm. When Cyril learned of this, he summoned the leaders of the Jews and threatened them unless they put an end to that turmoil and to disturbing the Christians. *He warned them in advance what he would do to them unless they ceased.* When the Jews heard this, they planned evil and made a sign from palm-trees for a night-attack. [592] In the middle of the night, close to the *churches of God*⁵¹, they shouted out that the *churches* were on fire. [The Christians] ran from each one's place to put out the fire. Then the Jews in accordance with their plot wickedly slew many, but did not harm their own people. When it was morning, *the patriarch* Cyril gathered a large crowd and plundered their houses. He destroyed their houses of prayer, and many were wounded. In this fashion he expelled them from the city. Then they were scattered into all cities, bereft of all their possessions⁵².

[595]

CHAPTER 141

How they killed and burned the woman Hypatia, daughter of Theon

[VII, 15]⁵³ There was in Alexandria a certain woman Hypatia, the daughter of the philosopher Theon. She was so proficient in the art of philosophy that she surpassed all the philosophers there, and she expounded philosophical teaching to those who wished [for it]. Therefore people came to her for study from everywhere on account of her great and adroit skill. On account of the wisdom she possessed, she treated with modesty and discretion [596] all men, great and small. In these circumstances envy was provoked over that woman, and some men planned to remove her. [Their leader] was called Peter, a reader of the church, who had zeal for the plan. Waiting for the woman, at a convenient moment they killed her and burned her with fire. This was done in the fourth year of Cyril⁵⁴.

⁵¹ Churches of God: "church of Alexandria," in SI/Soc.

⁵² SH omits ch. 14: "The riot of monks in Alexandria."

⁵³ VII, 15: In SI/Soc: "The killing of Hypatia."

⁵⁴ I.e. in 415.

[597]

CHAPTER 142

*The arrogance of the Jews in insulting Christ and the Christians,
and their punishment*

[VII, 16]⁵⁵ After some time had passed, the Jews in those regions again acted against the Christians who dwelt between *Chalcedon*⁵⁶ and Syrian Antioch. They performed some illegal games, being drunk, and mocked the Christians, even lampooning Christ. They ridiculed the Cross and those who had hope in the crucified Christ. They seized a Christian youth, bound him and put him on a cross, [598] and mockingly jeered at him. After not much time, they lost their reason, tormented, tortured and killed him, *and buried him in a tomb*. When the Christians learned of this, there was a fight between them, *and many among the Jews fell wounded*. When the princes of the country heard, they punished the perpetrators of the crime, the Jews, and tortured not a few of them.

[599]

CHAPTER 143

*Concerning the miracle which occurred at the baptism of
an imposter and deceitful Jew*

[VII, 17]⁵⁷ Another Jew pretended to be a Christian and received baptism from every sect; thereby he gathered wealth. *Later he came to Atticus and from him too received baptism*⁵⁸. After this he came also to Paul, the bishop of the Novatians, who held the primacy after the death of Chrysanthus; he was a fearer of God and virtuous. [600] He received him first in fasting and did not immediately bestow baptism. So he was forced to fast for *two months*⁵⁹. He was continually proclaiming his eagerness for baptism. *He learned the faith in consubstantiality*, and the bishop prepared splendid garments. He summoned him to baptism and introduced the water into the font, but it suddenly disappeared. They were astonished and looked for [the cause of] the water flowing out.

⁵⁵ VII, 16: In SI/Soc: "Jews mock the Christians."

⁵⁶ Chalcedon: as SI, for the "Chalchis" of Soc.

⁵⁷ VII, 17: In SI/Soc: "Miracle at the baptism of a Jewish imposter."

⁵⁸ See the end of the chapter for this addition.

⁵⁹ Two months: "many days," in SI/Soc.

Finding nothing, [601] they closed the outlet and again filled the font with water. All the spectators were close-by, and again the water disappeared from the font.

Paul said: "O man, why have you pretended with lack of faith, or for deceit?" *And he was struck silent.* A great crowd had seen the miracle, and some recognised the Jew as having received baptism from Atticus. *Then he confessed and did not deny that he had also received baptism from other sects. And many praised Paul and his faith. And I say⁶⁰ that the evidence of the miracle was for me nothing other than [evidence] of the orthodox faith. For he had received an incomplete baptism from the Arians and the Pneumatomachoi and all the sects, but later he received a complete one [602] from Atticus. God did not allow the incomplete to receive the true baptism. To which the Jew bore witness, who after admonition was confirmed in the faith.*

CHAPTER 144

Concerning the persecution of the Christians who were in Persia

[VII, 18]⁶¹ In those times the Christians who were in Persia were persecuted by the king of Persia⁶² through the deceit of the magi *which they had possessed from ancient times.* He caused cruel persecutions [603] and introduced various deprivations against the Christians. *The bishop of Persia informed Atticus of these afflictions.* He informed the emperor, and the latter became concerned about the safety of the Christians. *He ordered all the Christians to flee from their empire and to take asylum;* and many fled into the Roman empire.

CHAPTER 145

Another cause of war between the Romans and the Persians, and of the flight of Christians from Persia

There was another reason for disturbance. The Persians who had *gold-mines*⁶³ on hire did not give the payment, but requested the fleeing

⁶⁰ Cf. p. 573 for the first person.

⁶¹ VII, 18: In SI/Soc: "War between Rome and Persia."

⁶² SII omits the name "Isdigerdes," i.e. Yazkert I.

⁶³ Gold-mines: Sic! SII reads *νοληζαυδου* for the *νοληζαυμου*, "gold-miners," of SI, which correctly renders Soc, χρυσωρυκτας.

Christians from the Romans. The latter did not wish to hand the Christians who had sought refuge over to the impious Persians. For these reasons a serious war broke out [604] between the Romans and the Persians at that time. Then the emperor *Theodosius* sent Ardabir⁶⁴ with a special army to Persia through Armenia, *anticipating their deceit*. Having entered Persia, he encountered a *numerous* Persian army. Narses was their general⁶⁵. They fought each other, and the Persian army was defeated and turned to flight. [605] The Roman army took much plunder and returned to Syrian Mesopotamia.

When *the Persian king*⁶⁶ heard this, he was greatly troubled. He *immediately* gathered all his troops and came out to do battle against Ardabir [606] with a large host. They informed the Roman emperor *Theodosius* of this, and he sent a numerous army to them. He had hope of victory — *not in the multitude of his troops, but in God who grants the gift of victory to whomever he wishes. "Let him not boast," said the emperor, "in his army, but in God who directs battle."*⁶⁷ He did not fail in his hope in God, immediately finding beneficence from him, as was made clear from the following. *He set to prayer and fasting those adherents of the orthodox faith who were in Constantinople and in all places, [607] until he should hear news of victory in the war. With firm faith he encouraged the army and the troops not to hesitate when facing them, "for the Lord fights against the Persians on your side."* With such letters he encouraged those far and near not to despair, but to have confidence in victory through *Jesus Christ*. When the army reached Mesopotamia, they fought against the Persian army which was shut up in the fortress of Nisibis.

When the Persian king heard that the Roman force had reached his country, and about the siege of the army in Nisibis [608] and its defeat, he was terrified of the Romans and summoned the Tachiks to his aid. From among these came Almundaros, a valiant warrior, with very many troops, who encouraged the king. He said that everything would turn out in accordance with the king's wishes. Arrogantly he said: "Not long hence *shall we besiege the Romans, and we shall make them foederati.*"⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Ardabir: See the *PLRE*, II, 137-8, s.v. Ardabur 3.

⁶⁵ For this Narses see Justi, 223, s.v. no. 30.

⁶⁶ The Persian king: Narses in SI/Soc.

⁶⁷ Cf. I Chron. 29. 11; II Chron. 20. 15.

⁶⁸ Foederati: *ἠαζδωλορη*, "allies, those who have made a pact," as SI, for παραστήσεσθαι in Soc. For the role of Almundaros as ally of the Persians and these operations by the Euphrates see Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 26-27. Tachiks: the "Saracens" of Soc; cf. above, p. 392.

But it did not happen as he supposed. Then battle was joined by the Romans, Persians and Tachiks, and fear of the Lord fell upon them. Before they came to grips, they turned to flight and did not know whither to flee. Making for the river Euphrates, they fell in and were slain in it. More than one hundred thousand warriors drowned in its waters, and the survivors fled away.

[609] *Then the Persian king was terrified. He burned with fire all their war-engines, and returned to his own place filled with shame. The infantry slew many, and no one knows the number of those killed and wounded in the great battle. When this had so happened in accordance with the emperor's hope and faith, all the Christians celebrated a joyful festival. These events rapidly reached the ears of the pious emperor Theodosius*⁶⁹.

[610]

CHAPTER 146

Concerning the fast runner Palladius

[VII, 19]⁷⁰ There was a certain *fortunate man*⁷¹, valiant in soul and body, *moderate and holy and intelligent*, whose name was Palladius. He was able to run so [fast] that in three days *from Persia he reached the Roman empire, and in three days Constantinople, and in six days from Persia to Constantinople, which made everyone marvel*⁷². This man rapidly crossed the whole world *like a bird* wherever he was sent. One of the *poets*⁷³ spoke the following words concerning him: "This man has reduced the large Roman empire [611] by his speed." The Persian king was also astonished on hearing of this man's speed in all [its details] *because his fame had gone out over the whole earth.*

[VII, 20]⁷⁴ *The Persian king sent [a message] requesting peace from the Romans, and the pious emperor Theodosius was informed by his army.*

⁶⁹ SII has changed SI/Soc, where the Romans in fright burn their siege-machines and retreat. "Siege-machines" in Soc are rendered *պաշարականն մեքենայս* in SI, which SII changes to "war-engines, գործիսն պատերազմի մեքենայիցն."

⁷⁰ VII, 19: In SI/Soc: "Concerning Palladius the runner."

⁷¹ According to SI/Soc, it was the emperor who was "fortunate" to have Palladius in his empire.

⁷² Here SI/Soc merely say that Palladius could run from CP to the Persian border in three days, and back in another three days.

⁷³ Poets: *բանաստեղծաց*, for *բանաւորաց*, "eloquent people," in SI/Soc.

⁷⁴ VII, 20: In SI/Soc: "Defeat of the Persians."

Now the pious and peace-loving Theodosius was not arrogant like a victor, but gave glory to God, and himself accepted the proposal for peace between himself and the Persians⁷⁵. Then he sent Helion⁷⁶, a noble of the city, and offered peace to the Persians in order to bring an end to the conflicts. When Helion reached the army in Mesopotamia, he sent Maximianos⁷⁷ to the Persian king — an eloquent man who was the colleague⁷⁸ of the general Ardabir. The Persian king [612] received him with friendship and honoured the man, supposing that the text of the message which he delivered was not from the emperor Theodosius but from his army.

CHAPTER 147

Concerning the corps of Persians called "Immortals," how they were rendered mortal by Christians

There was a corps of the army in Persia which they called "Immortals," ten thousand men, who urged the king to attack the Roman force. "By unexpectedly falling on them without any [warning], *let us avenge our fallen generals and troops.*" Being persuaded, he sent his corps secretly, the so-called Immortals, and kept the ambassador with him. They reached the site⁷⁹, and dividing their force into two, fell on the Romans. [613] *By dividing their army into two sections they intended to destroy them completely.* But the providence of God strengthened the Roman army. Surrounding the Persian corps, they rendered the Immortals mortal by the death of the sword⁸⁰, so that there remained not a single one of them. *The Romans, who were saved, glorified God who had taken vengeance on the deceitful, and who in this way had shown all that those who called themselves Immortal were mortal.*

On hearing the disastrous outcome [614] — that those called Immortal by the Persians had been slaughtered in one day — the Persian king [feigned] ignorance as if unaware of what had happened. He all the more made arrangements for peace and ceased the persecutions of Christians

⁷⁵ According to SI/Soc, the emperor wished to make peace.

⁷⁶ Helion: See the *PLRE*, II, 533, s.v. Helion 1.

⁷⁷ Maximianos: for the "Maximus" of SI/Soc, as also above, p. 430. This is Maximinus, no. 3 in the *PLRE*, II, 741.

⁷⁸ Colleague: *συνεργός*, as SI, a direct calque on *συνκόθεδρος* in Soc.

⁷⁹ Site: *ὡχίωσις*, lit. "land," i.e. Mesopotamia.

⁸⁰ Sword: SI/Soc refer to an ambush.

for the sake of peace, in the *thirteenth year of the reign of Theodosius*⁸¹. In the same [year] he also [stopped] *the other conflicts*⁸².

CHAPTER 148

*Concerning the Persians captured by the Christians,
how they received freedom from the bishop Acacius;
their recall by the Persian king and honouring*

[VII, 21]⁸³ In these [times] Acacius, bishop of Amida, performed a noble deed: he saved from famine and affliction those Persians captured by the Roman army. [615] *He sold all his possessions for their needs and exhausted all his wealth.* He said to his people and to the clergy: "Our God has no need of dishes or plates of gold or silver, because he lacks nothing. Since the church possesses many gold and silver vessels donated by lovers of God, I reckon it right through these to save the prisoners." With such words he persuaded them, and he melted down the gold and silver [vessels]. Through these he saved seven thousand Persian captives.

[616] *When there was peace between the kings, he sent them to their own country, to Persia. They informed the Persian king of Acacius's amazing and wonderful action towards the Persians, the king and the whole country. The king desired to see him, and sent an invitation. With the permission of his own emperor Theodosius, Acacius went accompanied by the clergy of that same church. Acacius appeared [encompassed] by the grace of Christ. The Persian king arose from his throne, did obeisance to the bishop Acacius, and greatly honoured him as a just and benevolent and pious man. He gave many gifts to him and to those who were with him, and sent them on their way; for God glorifies those who fear him*⁸⁴. *The Roman emperor was shown to be in everything wonderful, both in acts of benevolence and victories, in accordance with the grace of that pious emperor.*

⁸¹ SII has altered the "thirteenth consulate of Honorius and tenth of Theodosius" in SI/Soc, i.e. 422.

⁸² The other conflicts: "the persecution," in SI/Soc.

⁸³ VII, 21: In SI/Soc: "Acacius helps Persian captives."

⁸⁴ Ps. 14.4. For this passage cf. the *Life of Acacius*, in VV, I, 174ff.

CHAPTER 149

Concerning the good fortune of the emperor Theodosius and his surpassing the natural measure of many; and furthermore [praise] by the empress Irene and Socrates the historian

Many composed discourses on such events, [617] [lauding] the emperor's good fortune *in praise of his honour and glory*. Likewise the emperor's wife *Irene* wrote a poem in accordance with the significance of the time. She was a *philosopher and orator*⁸⁵, being the daughter of Leon, the Athenian philosopher, and had been instructed and taught by her father and become famous. When the emperor [wished] to marry her, she was baptised by Atticus; and he⁸⁶ changed her name Athenais to *Eudocia*. The wisdom of the discourse she composed was more excellent than that of many who were anxious to bring to [the attention of] many the innate power of their discourses, wishing the abundance of their wise labours [to be seen] by many⁸⁷. *He also bestowed presents on them.*

[VII, 22]⁸⁸ [618] I do not wish to make excessive praise in an elegant discourse on the emperor *whose praise is not from men alone, but also from God*. So in simple words with the truth I shall strive to record the emperor's deeds. For to be silent on so many good actions of his, or to hide them, would bring no little harm to those after us; *while to describe them is great profit to the audience. So I shall speak as briefly as possible, not mentioning all of his good deeds — for that is impossible — with which he was adorned visibly and invisibly from his birth to his death*. Although he was born into royalty and raised *with honour and glory*, nonetheless he possessed no haughtiness or pride, but he was of elevated mind *in order to suppress sin, and was the most humble of men, chaste and pure of mind, pure also in body and not willingly coming to marriage, but forced thereto by his parents*.

[619] *He was wise in discourse, thoughtful in mind, benevolent, without malice, not resentful towards great or small*. For to those who met him

⁸⁵ Philosopher and orator: "famous," ἐλλόγιμος, in Soc: SI reads "philosopher, ἡδωσανουζρ," as SII, which adds "and orator." No empress "Irene" is mentioned by SI/Soc. Why SII changes "Eudocia" is not clear. Could it be a confusion for "Aelia Eudocia," her official name after marriage to Theodosius? See the *PLRE*, II, 408-9, s.v. Eudocia 2.

⁸⁶ He: Since no subject is mentioned and the Armenian verb has no gender, perhaps "she."

⁸⁷ The text of this sentence in SII is garbled.

⁸⁸ VII, 22: In SI/Soc: "Praise for Theodosius."

he appeared to have experience of affairs and wonderful *gentleness*⁸⁹. So great was his fortitude on all occasions, even in heat and in all difficult circumstances *that no man could endure [as much] as he. For he was invincible in all those things which bring pressure for the alleviation of tedium and the softening of soul and body.* He observed strictly the fasts pronounced by the church, especially *the forty days of holy Easter and Friday and Wednesday without relaxation. With bread and salt and water in the evening he took care of his needs all the days of his life. And he was not shaken or put off the path by any of those who legislated for him the relaxations of oil and wine.*

The royal family he organised like a rule of ascetics. [620] *In this fashion at home he arranged the palace like the church of God, always piously contemplating divine things day and night. He was a lover of reading so that, with the divine scriptures in his mouth, he would repeat them for the admonition and counseling of the righteous faith. And he was totally skilled in the rituals and rules of the church. He treated the bishops whom he encountered with reverence and respect, and discussed the scriptures with them. Likewise with priests and elders and ascetics, and he deferred to all speakers. He gathered all the books of the saints, more than Ptolemy Philadelphus previously*⁹⁰.

Who could describe his lack of rancour, which surpassed the whole nature of man? *Not only in word and mind was he perfect in these matters, but also indeed in the gracious bestowal of gifts, and in mercy towards the indigent — to the extent that throughout provinces and cities he prepared sites for them [621] and took care of their needs. He had no other request for them save a continuous prayer to God for the emperor and the empire. And one could not see any beggar at that time*⁹¹. But in accordance with Aristotle's Syllogisms [he resembled] pious souls through action, beautifully exercising control over anger and wrath and desire. He was not moved to any lawless act, *but his inclination, directed to God, was towards the good. No one saw him angry or moved to wrath, or [changed] from moderation to desire, because he was immaculate in soul and body.*

⁸⁹ Gentleness: *Հեղուծիւն*, for *Հմտութիւն*, "wisdom," in SI/Soc.

⁹⁰ Comparisons with the activity of Ptolemy Philadelphus as a collector of books were made popular in Armenia through the reference in MX, I, 2; cf. Kirakos, 346, of the writings of Vanakan vardapet.

⁹¹ Beggar: *մուրացիկ*. Cf. *Buzandaran*, IV, 4, where Nersēs provided that there would be no more begging and his charitable works are extolled at some length.

Once one of the *nobles*⁹² asked him: “Why do you never punish any criminal with death?” He said to him: “If only it were possible to bring the dead to life. [622] For it is not, he said, a great thing to kill a man. It is impossible for a man, like God, to bring back to life one who has been killed if he repent; for only God has the power to do this, *to resuscitate and to kill, to strike and to heal.*” This he resolutely said, acting so that if anyone ever did something worthy of death and he ordered him to be led to his death, overcome by philanthropy he would again issue a command for him to be recalled. *He carried out punishments with mercy according to the offence. Such was the most benevolent Theodosius.*

CHAPTER 150

*How the emperor Theodosius showed his benevolence to all,
and what sort of hairskin he wore, and how he prayed*

Once at a hunt in the amphitheatre at Constantinople, when he was celebrating a joyous festival, the crowd shouted out *with cruel ferocity*⁹³ that one of those trained should be thrown [623] to the combat *in confession to the orthodox*⁹⁴. But the emperor said to them: “Do you not know that we are accustomed to watch [the games] humanely.” When the crowd heard this, thenceforth they were admonished to humanity in accordance with the emperor. And he was totally pious, so that he honoured all whom he saw *and received them with love and respected them, sending them away with presents.* Even more wonderfully in his own humility [he treated] those whom he knew to be enjoying God’s pleasure in piety and holiness — to the extent that when the virtuous bishop of Hebron died in Constantinople, he took his filthy hair-garment and wore it next to his skin *secretly. He loved to have such a garment to the day of his death, never revealing to anyone his rough hair-shirt*⁹⁵.

Now concerning his prayers what must one say? Seven times a day he blessed God. In the middle of the night he arose and made confession to the Lord God. For law and righteousness [624] he was zealous like David in his Psalter; and like him he mixed tears with awe and love for

⁹² Nobles: *պատուարաց*, for the “acquaintances,” of SI/Soc.

⁹³ With cruel ferocity: “to one of the wild beasts,” in SI/Soc.

⁹⁴ The sense of this addition is not apparent.

⁹⁵ Hair-shirt: Here SII changes the *ճաղեղին զգեստ* of SI/Soc just above to *խարաղ-նաղեստ*, a common Armenian term first used by Koriwn, 38, of Maštoc’.

God in his prayers. He continually desired the salvific mystery of Christ which illuminates minds and thoughts. He did not stand aside without some cause or weakness of body, because in communicating he was most holy and sublime in faith. And his mind was elevated from the earth to be on high in Christ Jesus.

He made festivities for the nobles and magnates of the Romans at appropriate times for meals and dinners. Not excessively in accordance with the reprimand of the rich man⁹⁶ — whose licence and food and drink and demonic merry-making were more than superfluous — but as much as is requisite for one's guests in accordance with honour and respect, which he beautifully arranged in royal manner. Not like the devilish sect of Orpheus⁹⁷, or the songs and licentious words of other artists which move hardened souls to wicked intentions; but with divine ornamentation and spiritual decoration at the repasts of food and drink [he had] the Lord's songs sung to the audience, well arranged in accordance with the significance of the feasts and the times, [625] which moved the souls of all to virtuous diversions. He not only did this having God [in mind], but he also preserved in health the wills of all. Such was his summit of virtues, the most blessed among kings, Theodosius, whose praise from God remains in earth and heaven⁹⁸.

CHAPTER 151⁹⁹

There was once a severe winter, and he was obliged by the nobles¹⁰⁰ to go out to the stadium in accordance with the custom of emperors; and by compulsion he went out to the stadium. There came upon them a heavy fall of snow, and the weather grew more dangerous until there was no hope that all the leaders and flocks would be saved. Then the blessed Theodosius displayed his wish, like the love he had for God, and revealed it to all. Through heralds he ordered it to be announced to all that they should pray to God that he would cause the oppressive storm to pass in his great mercy, lest "we be harmed by the anger of God."

⁹⁶ Cf. Lk. 16. 19-31.

⁹⁷ References to Orpheus are rare in Armenian, but see the Armenian text of the Pseudo-Nonnus Scholia, *Invective against Julian*, I, 77 and II, 13, ed. Manandian. There Orpheus is described as a musician, whose writings are extant and whose myths are obscure.

⁹⁸ SII has no reference to the fame of Theodosius II as builder of Theodosiopolis [Karin], described in detail by MX, III, 59.

⁹⁹ SII provides no title for this chapter.

¹⁰⁰ Nobles: "people," in SI/Soc.

Such words were uttered by the emperor, [626] and through the concordant announcement of the heralds those in the stadium with the pious emperor received blessing on high and their requests from the heavenly king. The whole city became one church in blessing and prayer to God, and the emperor in their midst exercised himself in prayer. He was not disappointed of his hope, for immediately the storm changed to *rain*¹⁰¹, *and the bitter wind to a warm southerly wind, and the winter immediately became spring-like.*

In these [circumstances] the emperor was revealed as even more wonderful, and throughout the whole world this miracle shown from God was related. If ever war was stirred up, putting his trust in God like king David, the emperor Theodosius waged [627] battles, always having the grace of victory. He armed himself more especially with prayer than with iron. Having won the Persian war, he received peace from them.

CHAPTER 152

Concerning the wonders, how he overcame the tyrant John

There arose a certain tyrant John *from Rome*; and the emperor Theodosius, trusting in God, defeated him and made peace. Just as in the time of Moses, what I shall mention was demonstrated when Israel crossed the Red Sea¹⁰²; for he sent his army against the tyrant by sea.

Honorius, the emperor *of Rome and the west*¹⁰³, had died. [VII, 23]¹⁰⁴ [628] As soon as he heard of his death, he concealed it and gathered many troops. He pretended to have other intentions, and sent them to Salonae, a city of Dalmatia, lest the *tyrant*¹⁰⁵ have suspicions about the army and prepare himself against it. In these [circumstances] the tyrant, *revealing the emperor's death*, sent messengers to the emperor to request the empire for himself. For John was the superintendent¹⁰⁶ of the empire, and not content with that he aimed for the highest position and the seizure of the empire. However, the emperor kept the messengers with him and ordered the general Ardabir, who had become famous

¹⁰¹ Rain: "fair weather," in SI/Soc.

¹⁰² Ex. ch. 14.

¹⁰³ Soc has no reference to Rome or the west in this chapter.

¹⁰⁴ VII, 23: In SI/Soc: "John rebels and is defeated."

¹⁰⁵ Tyrant: as usual for "rebel." In SI/Soc it is the emperor who announces the death of Honorius.

through his great victories in Persia, to attack him with an army. He sailed across the sea, but an unfortunate wind delivered them into the hands of the tyrant. He was delighted at capturing him, supposing that through him he would gain the empire.

[629] When the emperor heard this, in concern he took refuge in prayer to God, *requesting an outcome to these events. He did not despair of what he trusted. The emperor sent an army and the son of the general who was in the tyrant's hands to attack his army in place of his father. He reached that country*¹⁰⁷, and on hearing that many barbarian troops [had gone] to assist the tyrant, and that his father was in their hands, he fell into doubt not knowing what to do. *A command came from the emperor to attack him [630] with the support of God, and not to be afraid. "An angel of God, he said, will lead you across the sea as if across dry land."*

*When the generals and troops heard this, with trust in God and in the emperor's prayers they set out at night. In the form of a shepherd the angel of God led them across the lake as across dry land to the city of Ravenna, for there the tyrant was. Because it was morning*¹⁰⁸ the gates of the city had been opened, so the army entered the city. *The tyrant gave battle; but, unable to resist them, he died on the spot. The army did not realise the providence of God until they saw what had happened in accordance with the emperor's faith and prayers. [631] Thus was demonstrated the pious emperor's love for God. Then through heralds he announced to all to adorn the churches of God in perpetual praise of the all-holy Trinity*¹⁰⁹.

[VII, 24]¹¹⁰ He installed as emperor in Rome and the west Valentinian¹¹¹, young in years, the son of his father's sister who was called Placidia. *He commanded Valentinian to walk on the paths of righteousness and to pay heed to the advice of holy and just men, [632] and to his aunt, Valentinian's mother. Once more he ordered all the churches in Constantinople to celebrate a triumph. He did not attribute these as praise [for himself], but gave the glory to God.*

¹⁰⁶ Superintendent: *ἡψιπληρωθεῖς*, for the *ἡψιπληρωθῆναι* of SI, rendering the *πρωτοστάτης* of Soc.

¹⁰⁷ According to SI/Soc the son of Ardabir, Aspar, was already with the army in Italy.

¹⁰⁸ Akinean, "P'ok'r Sokrat," 67, notes a parallel with Aa §43: "when the morning dawned, the gates of the city were opened," where it is also question of an army entering.

¹⁰⁹ Soc indicates that after Theodosius announced the victory in the Hippodrome, all went to church to celebrate.

¹¹⁰ VII, 24: In SI/Soc: "Valentinian is made emperor."

CHAPTER 153

How Atticus, the patriarch of Constantinople, organised the churches of God, and at his death consoled the people, having held the bishopric for twenty-one years

[VII, 25]¹¹² Now Atticus made the affairs of the churches to prosper in a wonderful way: through his care he administered them and through his teaching he urged the people to virtue. [633] He celebrated the memorial day of the death of John¹¹³ in the churches *year by year*, just as those of other saints. *By his instruction he comforted the people and advised them not to lose from their minds his illuminating teaching.* Not only did he fulfil the needs of his own churches and of the poor and strangers, but he also alleviated the cares of all those who came to him. For he gave to the priest of the church of Nicaea three hundred *dahekans*¹¹⁴. And such [he wrote] to them¹¹⁵. *One could also say that myriads were his gifts to the churches and needs in every city, because there was no limit to his liberality; since he was beneficent to all, and all were comforted in him.* [635] Some said to Atticus: “It is not right that the Novatians congregate within the cities.” “Do you not know, he said, how much they suffered with us in our persecutions under Constantius and Valens? They were witnesses to our faith, and although persecuted by them, [636] they did not draw apart from us.” On seeing Asclepius, the Novatian bishop of Nicaea, a very old man, Atticus asked him: “For how many years have you held your bishopric?” He said: “Fifty.” He replied: “Happy you, O man, to have been overseer for such a time.” Asclepius¹¹⁶ said: “I praise Novatian, but do not accept the Novatians.” Atticus said: “How [is that]?” Asclepius said: “I praise him because he did not communicate with those who sacrificed, because this too I did. But I do not accept [the Novatians] because they prevent the people from communion

¹¹¹ Valentinian III: ruled 23/10/425-16/3/455.

¹¹² VII, 25: In SI/Soc: “Atticus and his death.”

¹¹³ I.e. 13 November; see Grumel, 324.

¹¹⁴ Dahekans: for *սսկեղէսս* in SI, the Greek “golden [coins].” Dahekan is a standard Armenian term for a monetary unit, rendering *δηνάριον* or *νόμισμα* in the NT. More common in later Armenian texts is *դրամ* [which renders *δραχμή* at Lk. 15. 8], which can also be used in a general sense as “cash.” For its subdivisions see Mxit’ar Gos, ch. 104, p. 76.

¹¹⁵ SII omits the text of the letter in SI/Soc.

¹¹⁶ This exchange has been reversed by SII. In SI/Soc it is Atticus who begins by praising Novatian, and Asclepius who responds.

for minor transgressions¹¹⁷. For the sin of sacrificing leads the soul to death according to John, who says one is not to pray [with them]. Therefore you exclude sinful clergy from office. But we also exclude lay people, hoping for forgiveness only in God."

[637] Atticus said: "The sin which leads to death is nothing other than idolatry. The apostle links avarice with this. 'Avarice, he says, which is idolatry'¹¹⁸; greed, which is the cause of all evils.'¹¹⁹ Those condemned of these [vices], after being expelled for a while in repentance we accept. But we exclude from the church and from communion the clergy and people who commit fornication. Those, however, who turn with confession to repentance we receive. And according to merit we distinguish the occasions according to time, and the reparations according to worth — whether with regard to office or the congregation for communion — by the decision of the canon and of wise men." Having said this, Atticus received Asclepius [638] very willingly, and departed from him in the love of Christ.

Atticus, knowing in advance his own death, and having summoned those united in faith in the consubstantial all-holy Trinity, those ordained bishops and priests, entrusted himself to their prayers and continuous commemorations in the churches of God. [He bade them] not to neglect his rules and the laws of the churches, and to adhere to a holy way of life in faith. And the people he consoled individually, providing help for the needs that each one might have. After this he fell ill, of which he died, having held the bishopric for twenty-one years¹²⁰, in the reign of the pious emperor Theodosius, with many eulogies.

Because the emperor Theodosius was at Thessalonica, one day after the death of Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, the emperor came to his burial¹²¹. With remorse he wept for that kind and beneficent man; and he prayed over the tomb. [639] Blessing and praising God, he said: "The Lord gave, and the Lord took away¹²². And now may the Lord provide an overseer for his people, and may we not be deprived of his benevolent care."

¹¹⁷ According to SI/Soc Asclepius speaks the following lines.

¹¹⁸ Col. 3. 5.

¹¹⁹ Cf. I Tim. 6. 10.

¹²⁰ Atticus died on 10 October 425 in the twentieth year of his bishopric.

¹²¹ According to SI/Soc, the emperor missed the funeral of Atticus by one day.

¹²² Job 1. 21.

CHAPTER 154

Concerning Sisinnius, how he was chosen for the bishopric of Constantinople

[VII, 26]¹²³ There was much conflict at the election of a successor in his place. Some proposed the priest Philip *who had studied briefly under John*¹²⁴; and some the priest Proclus *of Lycia, also a pupil of John's*¹²⁵; but some the priest Sisinnius, who had been appointed not in Constantinople [640] but in a suburb¹²⁶ of the city, where there was a *chapel*¹²⁷ to the Ascension of the Saviour in which a festival for the people was celebrated annually. Sisinnius was famous for his piety towards Christ and holiness. Towards the poor he was renowned for his liberality beyond his means¹²⁸, and there was more agreement over him than over the others. They ordained Sisinnius *to the patriarchate of Constantinople* in the twelfth year of the reign of Theodosius, and in the second of the emperor Valentinian¹²⁹.

[641]

CHAPTER 155

Concerning Philip, the pupil of John, what he composed after John's death

Now Philip was censorious¹³⁰ at him, and he did not accept either the one ordained or those who ordained him *in the church of God by the emperor Theodosius*.

[VII, 27]¹³¹ Philip was by origin from Side, the city of Pamphylia. *He had studied under*¹³² the philosopher Troilus, who was a relative of his.

¹²³ VII, 26: In SI/Soc: "Sisinnius is chosen as bishop of Constantinople."

¹²⁴ See ch.27 for Philip's association with John Chrysostom.

¹²⁵ Proclus was later bishop of Cyzicus on the Marmara; Soc has no reference to any connection with Lycia. SII also claims that he was a pupil of John's on p. 674.

¹²⁶ Suburb: *ημισυαλητηρον*, as SI, for *προάστειον* in Soc. Cf. above, p. 112, where the Greek is rendered by *υφημισυαλητηρον*.

¹²⁷ SI/Soc refer merely to the annual festival of the Ascension.

¹²⁸ Cf. II Cor. 8. 2-3.

¹²⁹ Sisinnius: bishop of CP 28/2/426-24/12/427.

¹³⁰ Was censorious: *ζυβτωι εγγετι*, lit. "was close to," for the active *ζυβτηγηγ* in SI. The verb *ζυβω* means "to approach," but here is used as a calque to render the sense of the middle/passive *συνάπτωμαι*, "to upbraid."

¹³¹ VII, 27: In SI/Soc: "The writings of Philip."

¹³² He had studied under: "whence came [Troilus]" in SI/Soc.

He was pious and was made a deacon [by] saint John. He was industrious under him with regard to his compositions. From everywhere he gathered books of his teaching. But after the death of the blessed John he altered them, having a proud mind, and in the Asianic style of rhetoric composed a description of the emperor Julian, [642] who had written against the Christians, *fifty-six*¹³³ separate books. This has many parts, totalling one thousand. He entitled their contents not "ecclesiastical" but "*secular*"¹³⁴ and he collected many subjects in them, wishing to indicate only the intent of the philosophers' maxims. Therefore he frequently mentions geometrical *measurements* and mathematical theorems, and gives the history of islands and mountains *and of rivers* and trees and other things *which are in the sea and on dry land*. Thus I think he made it useless for the ignorant and the well-instructed [alike], *as is clear to all*¹³⁵. For the ignorant do not listen to pompous histories, and the well-instructed condemn such rhetoric. *And for this reason I reckon it dangerous to read this book of Julian [643] or to write [about it]*¹³⁶. But let each one judge Philip according to his wisdom and intelligence.

CHAPTER 156

Return to Sisinnius, the patriarch of Constantinople, and his life

Now I shall return to Sisinnius *who had received the patriarchate of Constantinople because he was a pious man and a fearer of God, and a greater lover of the poor than others*.

[VII, 28]¹³⁷ In these [times] the bishop of Cyzicus died, and Sisinnius ordained Proclus to the bishopric and sent him to Cyzicus. However, the [people] of Cyzicus had previously ordained to their bishopric Dalmatius, an ascetic, disregarding the law that a bishop is not to be ordained without *a letter and the permission [644] of the chief patriarch*¹³⁸ of Constantinople. *Proclus went to Cyzicus, met them and was not disturbed, but departed from Dalmatius in friendly fashion, returned to Constantinople, and persuaded Sisinnius to peace regarding the people of Cyzicus*. He

¹³³ SI/Soc refer to 36 books of Philip's History, but SII implies that Julian had written these 56 books, as also just below.

¹³⁴ Secular: *արխարհաբար*, "popular," but "Christian" in SI/Soc.

¹³⁵ Cf. p. 665 for a similar addition.

¹³⁶ See just above for the confusion in SII regarding Julian's and Philip's writings.

¹³⁷ VII, 28: In SI/Soc: "Proclus is ordained bishop of Cyzicus."

¹³⁸ Chief patriarch: *պարսպետ*, for "bishop" in SI/Soc. Cf. above, p. 59.

himself did not enjoy a bishopric, but through his teaching *took refuge in Christ*¹³⁹; of which we shall speak later¹⁴⁰.

Sisinnius held the bishopric for two years in health, famed for uprightness and love for the poor and all good order. *He died to the glory of God and he moved many to tears for the poor classes for which [he cared].*

CHAPTER 157

The promotion of Nestorius to the bishopric

[VII, 29]¹⁴¹ After his death there was again a dispute. [645] Some were for Proclus, and some for Philip. Being in disagreement, they summoned Nestorius from Antioch to the bishopric. He was by origin from Germaniceia, with a *loud voice*¹⁴² and eloquent *but not learned in holy scripture*. *The emperor did not involve himself in these elections lest he break the laws of the church of God by making a show of his authority*¹⁴³. Then Nestorius was ordained to the bishopric of Constantinople on the tenth of April¹⁴⁴. But the character of his behaviour was not hidden from those who had sense.

Three days after his ordination [646] he delivered this solemn address in the presence of the congregation, saying to the emperor *amongst other things*: "Give me, he said, O emperor, [the earth] pure of sectaries, and I shall give you heaven in return. Destroy with me the band of schismatics, and I shall destroy with you *through prayer the myriad armies of enemy warriors, visible and invisible.*" *And for many who bore anger against the emperor they received these encouraging words to do what Nestorius had said, and he was persuasive.* Now, as I said, from his speech it was not difficult to indicate the character of his mind, nor that he possessed passion therewith and vainglory. For not with patience did he plunge into business, but according to the sense of the proverb: "not to taste of the water of the city."¹⁴⁵

¹³⁹ Took refuge in Christ: "flourished" in SI/Soc.

¹⁴⁰ See VII, 40 for the election of Proclus to the bishopric of CP.

¹⁴¹ VII, 29: In SI/Soc: "Nestorius is ordained bishop of Constantinople."

¹⁴² Loud voice: *μυρροδωγῆν*, for the *μυρτεδωγῆν*, "with a fine voice," of SI/Soc; see also p. 653.

¹⁴³ Perhaps an Armenian redactor would not want a "pious" emperor to appear to support Nestorius.

¹⁴⁴ In 428; the see was vacant from the death of Sisinnius on 24 December 427.

¹⁴⁵ SII has not brought out the sense of Soc: "not yet having tasted the city water," he showed himself a fervent persecutor [as the next sentence].

Five days after his ordination he showed himself a persecutor with heated heart. Wishing to destroy the prayer-house of the Arians, [647] *he foolishly ordered it to be set on fire and demolished*. Fanned by the wind, the fire burned up a great number of the nearby houses and properties in the city. The Arians gathered and prepared retribution on Nestorius, but fear of the emperor restrained them. Unless the providence of God had preserved the city, *it would have been totally burned in accordance with his proposed evil*. Therefore the citizens called Nestorius an incendiary. Even so he was not shamed into desisting; but against the schismatics he disturbed the cities and provinces which were under his control.

As for the bishop of the Novatians, Paul, famous for his virtue, he envied his reputation and wished to destroy him and his church. But he was prevented by the emperor because of that man's piety. [648] He inflicted such evils on the Quartodecimans in Asia and *Laodicaea*¹⁴⁶ and Caria; and how many died in Miletus and *Sardica*¹⁴⁷ from the tumult he caused! I shall omit the crimes. But I shall describe [below] what sort of judgment he paid because of that and for his loose and blasphemous tongue¹⁴⁸.

CHAPTER 158

How the savage people, called the Burgundians, and the territory of those peoples turned to the Christian faith and were baptised

[VII, 30]¹⁴⁹ [I] have put to an appropriate time mention of the history of the savage people beyond the river Rhine called the Burgundians. They are all artisans, and live a simple life [649] from local trading. Now there was a numerous other people who attacked them and seized their country, the people called Huns. Their king was called Uptarios. Deciding that they would have no help from anywhere, and that the God of the Christians was greater than all [other] gods¹⁵⁰ and helps those who fear him *and punishes the lawless*, they all believed in Christ, came to a city

¹⁴⁶ Laodicaea: "Lydia" in SI/Soc.

¹⁴⁷ Sardica: *Uppqhlh*, but "Sardis," in SI/Soc.

¹⁴⁸ See VII, 34 below.

¹⁴⁹ VII, 30: In SI/Soc: "The Burgundians accept Christianity."

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Ex. 18. 11.

of Gaul to the bishop, and sought baptism *confessing the homoousian faith*. He fasted¹⁵¹ for seven days, prepared them and taught them *the Christian faith and way of life*, and on the seventh day baptised them, *about three thousand men*¹⁵². Having been illuminated by baptism and hoping in Christ *the three thousand* attacked *the myriads* of the Hun people. They were not disappointed in their hope. For their king [650] died of a ruptured stomach from eating too much food. They had no *king or general*, yet the three thousand fell on myriads, and in the mutual conflict defeated them *and seized for themselves their land and possessions in servitude and dominated them*. From then on that people were confirmed in *the faith and rites of Christianity with warm heart in Christ Jesus until today*.

[651]

CHAPTER 159

How Nestorius raised conflict against his colleagues in the faith

[VII, 31]¹⁵³ Now as Nestorius [acted] according to the [his] earlier custom, so others imitating him did likewise, as his actions demonstrated. For in the city of Germa the bishop Antony, hearing of the attack by Nestorius on the schismatic Macedonians who lived there, was zealous [for the same], saying his reason was the command of the *patriarch*¹⁵⁴ Nestorius. They could not endure his zeal and killed him through two men. But Nestorius, [652] finding this an excuse for himself, persuaded [the emperor] to take away the churches they possessed. He also took those outside the city and those at Cyzicus and those in the farms¹⁵⁵. Some of them came and confirmed consubstantiality. But the contentious conflict never ceased, *in that Nestorius did not welcome peace*. He raised up conflict even on his colleagues in the faith.

¹⁵¹ He fasted: as SI, for "he ordered them to fast" in Soc.

¹⁵² The number 3,000 is quoted by Soc in connection with the battle just below. Cf. I Kingdoms 13. 2, where Saul has 3,000 men to oppose innumerable Philistines.

¹⁵³ VII, 31: In SI/Soc: "Nestorius creates conflict."

¹⁵⁴ Patriarch: added also in SI.

¹⁵⁵ Farms: *ωμωρωλη*, as SI, rendering ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς of Soc, "in the countryside." SII omits "in the Hellespont."

CHAPTER 160

How the priest Anastasius taught the doctrine of Nestorius, that they should not call [Mary] "Mother of God," but "Mother of a man"

[VII, 32]¹⁵⁶ A certain Anastasius, a priest of Antioch, came to share his views and was much honoured by him. Once he was in church teaching the congregation not to call Mary "Mother of God;" because Mary was a human, and it is impossible for God to be born from a human. [653] When the clergy and congregation of the church heard this, there was no little disturbance. For they had been instructed [concerning] God by the holy fathers, who called Mary "Mother of God," and the one born from her "Son of God" in accordance with the unity of the dispensation. By *Athanasius, I mean, and the Gregories, and Basil and John, and the holy council*¹⁵⁷. But Nestorius confirmed what was said by Anastasius, and being seized by ambition, everywhere tried to expunge the expression "Mother of God," which had been deceitfully introduced¹⁵⁸ in the books of the saints and the hymns. For although he had a fine¹⁵⁹ voice and sweet speech, yet he was not endowed with knowledge. On this account schism entered into the churches [654] of God.

The simple-minded of his party did not say "Mother of God," unaware of its fraudulent introduction into the church; but the right-minded said "Mother of God," and opposed those who denied it. There was a conflict between him and the churches, and Nestorius gave the suspicion to everyone that he was calling Christ a mere man, like Paul of Samosata and Photinos of Libya¹⁶⁰. And Nestorius was exceedingly moved to fighting in the dark¹⁶¹ and confused ignorance and blasphemy, which he demonstrated to be worse than the enormities of Arius and of Macedonius.

¹⁵⁶ VII, 32: In SI/Soc: "Concerning the expression Theotokos."

¹⁵⁷ See Lampe, s.v. θεοτόκος for numerous patristic citations. The Armenian is a direct rendering, *սսոուածածին*.

¹⁵⁸ Deceitfully introduced: *խորածանդեալ*, "contrived," which implies fraud. Here SII is putting words in the mouth of Nestorius. MX, III, 61, stresses the authoritative decision of the council of Ephesus in approving the expression *սսոուածածին*. This Armenian rendering of *Theotokos* is first attested in the *Response of Sahak to Proclus*, in the *GT*, 10.

¹⁵⁹ Fine voice: here SII reads *բարեձայն*, as SI/Soc; cf. above, p. 645.

¹⁶⁰ Of Libya: Photinus was bishop of Sirmium, who held the heresy of Sabellius the Libyan; see II, 39. That chapter is omitted by SII, but there are several other references in Soc to Sabellius the Libyan. See also the addition on p. 168 above: "[Photinus] taught that Christ was a mere man."

¹⁶¹ Fighting in the dark: *գիշերածարտութիւն*, lit. "fighting at night." The word is used metaphorically also on p. 76, and literally on p. 591.

True to say, when I read his expositions I find the man truly senseless. I do not say this in anger at him and to flatter our own side. [655] For he upheld this blasphemy from lack of learning and pride in events; to which was added eloquence of tongue. He was naturally a fine speaker, but not [endowed] with knowledge. He did not know how to interpret the meaning of scripture, nor did he teach having confidence in his tongue, thinking himself superior to all. *He fell [into] the foolish and dangerous snare of Satan, submerging mankind in the abyss of destruction*¹⁶². He did not learn from the apostles and prophets and the former holy fathers, nor did he attend to the holy places of *Jerusalem*, [656] of the *Nativity and the Name-giving*¹⁶³, which the God-loving holy empress Helen built in the name of the Mother of God, *and of the Nativity* which is in Bethlehem. *And the others, the significance of whose names indicates the mystery of the divine actions, like the Chapel*¹⁶⁴, *and Sion, and Resurrection, and Golgotha, and the others. Likewise the church of the holy Mother of God which has the name above [all names], which is the most famous of all and most wonderfully honoured by the universal church.*

Thus he was an example of confused ignorance. His own party do not know what they say, nor are they able to justify themselves to others — like Paul of Samosata or like Photinus, all confused and muddled [657] with loquacity and nonsense. No little schism for the destruction of the whole world did Nestorius promote.

[VII, 33]¹⁶⁵ There was the following occurrence in his church. The servants of a general in disobedience to their master fled to a church. *The pursuers followed and demanded the servant. He did not give [them up], nor did he entreat them*¹⁶⁶. They remained waiting for an appropriate moment, *and angrily demanded [them], expecting the multitude to depart.* They struck and killed *the servant[s] and one of the clergy of the church who offered opposition.* Some said [658] that the shedding of blood in God's temple was not an indication of good. Now *another*

¹⁶² This is a reworking of I Tim. 6. 9.

¹⁶³ And of the Name-giving: a misinterpretation of SI/Soc: "namely;" SII then omits "which is called by the Hebrews," and places "Bethlehem" later.

¹⁶⁴ Chapel: *δωμνολή*, misrendering the *ωβιηρολή* of SI, a transcription of ἄντρον, "cave," i.e. the cave of the birth of Christ under the church in Bethlehem.

¹⁶⁵ VII, 33: In SI/Soc: "Disturbance in the church at Constantinople."

¹⁶⁶ SII has altered the sense of this passage, where in SI/Soc the fugitives commit suicide and are not attacked by their pursuers. The subject of the 3 p.s. verb, "he," is not apparent.

*intelligent person*¹⁶⁷ said: "It is a sign when pollution is brought upon the temple of God." In the thought which he expressed he did not err, because he indicated the division of the people, as it seems, and the *excommunication*¹⁶⁸ of the cause of the separation.

CHAPTER 161

*Concerning the council of Ephesus, and the judging*¹⁶⁹ *of Nestorius, and his exile to Xuzastan*

[VII, 34]¹⁷⁰ After no great interval of time, from everywhere was convened a council of bishops at Ephesus by the emperor's command concerning that question regarding [659] Nestorius which had spread through the whole world. Nestorius persuaded John of Antioch and still others to act with him, because he had special suspicions of Cyril, bishop of Alexandria; and in his suspicion he gave out that he had slipped into the tendency of Apollinarius, and himself deceitfully proclaimed "Mother of God." Then after Easter Nestorius with many troops and a crowd¹⁷¹ [of supporters] came to Ephesus and found many bishops there. But Cyril came to Ephesus; and five days after Pentecost Juvenal of Jerusalem also, with the bishops accompanying him. And there were many other bishops. But John of Antioch delayed his arrival to join them.

Those who had arrived raised a tumult among themselves and discussed the question. Cyril was angry with Nestorius for zeal of Christ made man and retribution for the holy Mother of God Mary, whom he called "Mother of man;" and the one born from her he changed to a mere man, who being worthy by the grace of adoption was named and called Son of God. And he did not call the one born from the virgin "Emmanuel" in accordance with the prophecy of Isaiah¹⁷². He [Cyril] wrote many letters [660] at the beginning to avoid his error and the foolish sects.

¹⁶⁷ Another intelligent person: "an ancient poet" in SI/Soc.

¹⁶⁸ Excommunication: SII follows SI in rendering καθάρσεις, "separation," by ἕρημα, "anathema."

¹⁶⁹ Judging: ηἰσαρτυρήν, "arranging," seems to be an error for ηἰσαρτυρήν, given the content of this chapter.

¹⁷⁰ VII, 34: In SI/Soc: "The council of Ephesus."

¹⁷¹ Many troops and a crowd: πολλοὶ καὶ ὄχλος ἐκ ἀνθρώπων, for πολλοὶ καὶ ὄχλος ἀνθρώπων, "with a force of rabble," in SI. By changing ὄχλος into the plural the sense is altered.

¹⁷² I.e. Is. 7. 14; Soc has no reference to "Emmanuel" or this prophecy.

But Nestorius, in accordance with his pride, did not accept the letters of Cyril. Trusting in his loquacity, he delivered many presumptuous discourses before all the bishops — some true and some false — drawing [to himself] those declaring [Christ] became God. Furthermore Nestorius said: “The one born from Mary and suckled for two or three months is not to be called God but the temple of God the Word, who is equal in being with the Father and equal in glory with the holy Spirit. For this reason I am innocent of you, and shall come no more to you.” Having said this, with those bishops who were of his party he separated from the council which was of Cyril’s party. The statements of Nestorius at the council were immediately written down.

Then the council which was of Cyril’s party made an assembly and investigated Nestorius’s pronouncements, reading them many times. They condemned him as a blasphemer of the Son of God *Jesus Christ* [661] and of the holy Mother of God Mary. Several times they summoned Nestorius back to the council, but he did not go. He said: “I shall not respect that council until John the patriarch¹⁷³ of Antioch comes.” Then the holy council which was of Cyril’s party after much deliberation anathematised and expelled Nestorius from the church of God.

Not long afterwards John the patriarch of Antioch arrived, whom Nestorius had duped regarding Cyril as pronouncing the anathema out of envy. John was angry at Cyril and all those events, and with Nestorius wished to ignore what had happened. Then there was no little tumult in the council. There were thirty bishops who were of the party of Nestorius and John, and who separated in the eastern regions; while those of Cyril’s party were more than one hundred and seventy, but were disunited¹⁷⁴. They informed the emperor [662] as to their recollection of this. Then the emperor summoned the clergy of the church and questioned them about his teaching. He learned of his evil error, and sent to the council that it was not right for Nestorius to hold his throne and be received, while the clergy of the church wrote to the council that his confession was blasphemous and that they anathematised Nestorius. When these letters from the emperor and from the clergy of the church arrived, they again examined the declarations of Nestorius and of the clergy of the church and of the emperor. They all judged him worthy of excommunication and separation from the church of God.

¹⁷³ Patriarch: for “bishop” in SI/Soc, as often, e.g. p. 59.

¹⁷⁴ There is a reference to this disunity in the *Anonymous Chronicle*, 59, referring to the *անսուտ յիշատակարանացն պատմութիւն*, “truthful history of the annals.”

When Nestorius learned of the evil brought upon him by this dispute, he ceased [disputing]. And as if in penitence he presented himself and said *coldly*: "Behold I shall pronounce Mary 'Mother of God,' and let vexations and disturbances cease for the council." But it was not accepted [663] by the council as a true repentance. In unison the *two hundred*¹⁷⁵ bishops anathematised Nestorius and banished him in exile to the distant Oasis in *Xužastan*¹⁷⁶.

CHAPTER 162

How Maximianos took from the exiled Nestorius the throne of Constantinople; and words concerning Proclus and Gregory the Theologian and Silvanus. Maximianos dies after being bishop for three years

After this there was friendship between Cyril and John. [VII, 35]¹⁷⁷ Concerning the *patriarchate* there was an election between Proclus and Philip. There was much discussion [664] in the church of Constantinople. Since they were disunited, a certain priest Maximianos, an ascetic appointed in the church, was summoned to the *patriarchate* as successor to the throne of Nestorius¹⁷⁸. He had previously been noted as pious, since at his own expense he had constructed tombs for the fearers of God who had earlier died. He was *chaste and holy, but ignorant of rhetoric*, and spent his life without caring to be involved in any business. [665] *And after this [the members of] the council scattered to each one's place.* [VII, 36]¹⁷⁹ For the following reason Proclus was prohibited from the *patriarchate* of Constantinople. They said that it was not right for one who had not been summoned in his own name to ordination to be transferred from another church. Yet I saw Gregory the Theologian summoned to one church and transferred to another *for the sake of helping the churches of God, as is clear*¹⁸⁰.

¹⁷⁵ That there were 200 bishops at the council of Ephesus is standard Armenian tradition; cf. the *Letter of Acacius*, in *GT'*, 21 [= II, 58; Tallon, 41]. But that this number was divided into 30 and 170, as just above, is not explained there.

¹⁷⁶ Oasis is in Egypt; see II, 28. But in Armenian writers *Xužastan* is often cited as a place of exile; e.g. Etišē, 48, Łazar, 75, *Buzandaran* IV, 55, V, 5. In the *Anon Chron*, 60, Nestorius is said to have been exiled to the regions of Nisibis, adjacent to *Xužastan*.

¹⁷⁷ VII, 35: In *SI/Soc*: "Maximian becomes bishop of Constantinople."

¹⁷⁸ Maximianos, bishop of CP 25/10/431-12/4/434.

¹⁷⁹ VII, 36: In *SI/Soc*: "Proclus is prevented from changing his see."

¹⁸⁰ *SII* omits the long list of such transfers adduced as evidence by *SI/Soc*. For the addition "as is clear" cf. p. 642.

[VII, 37]¹⁸¹ [667] I must also speak about Silvanus, a true man of God, whom Atticus transferred from one see to another. [668] This Silvanus became renowned at Troas, as I shall relate. A certain ship for carrying heavy loads was on the shore at Troas. They were unable to move it; although many men often pulled, [669] there was no possibility of moving it. They said that a demon occupied the site and the ship. Coming to bishop Silvanus, they begged him to pray. He reckoned himself unworthy of such power. He went to the seashore and prayed, *sealing himself with the sign of Christ*¹⁸². He *pushed it with his rod*¹⁸³, and the ship moved from that spot. *He ordered the sailors to go to the city for which they were bound*. When they saw this, awe seized those who were nearby. Furthermore, this was noised throughout the land, and all his accomplishments were for the awe and fear of God.

They willingly obeyed him, and he stopped the clergy from making a profit from commerce; [670] and many good deeds were demonstrated there by him.

*I should also mention other virtuous bishops who were transferred by patriarchs from one [see] to another for advantage*¹⁸⁴.

[VII, 40]¹⁸⁵ [672] Now Maximianos died after holding the bishopric¹⁸⁶ for *three years*, on the twelfth of April on Thursday of the Easter fast.

CHAPTER 163

How the emperor Theodosius arranged an honourable burial for Maximianos, and installed Proclus on the throne of the patriarchate of Constantinople

Then the emperor Theodosius by the providence [673] of God wisely conducted the affair; for he was not anxious for enquiry or disputes. Since the body of Maximianos was still nearby, *the emperor Theodosius*

¹⁸¹ VII, 37: In SI/Soc: "Miracle worked by Silvanus, bishop of Troas."

¹⁸² Cf. p. 38 for the sign of the cross.

¹⁸³ Pushed with his rod: for "pulled on a rope," in SI/Soc.

¹⁸⁴ This sentence has been transposed from the end of ch. 36, but SII omits the names. Here both SI and SII omit ch.38: "Jews in Crete convert to Christianity." SII also omits ch. 39: "Fire in the church of the Novatians."

¹⁸⁵ VII, 40: In SI/Soc: "Proclus succeeds Maximianos at Constantinople."

¹⁸⁶ Here SII does not change "bishopric" to "patriarchate;" but see the title to the following chapter. Three years: "two years and five months," in SI/Soc; see p. 664 for the dates.

went and participated in the burial. The ceremony of the funeral eulogy and prayers over the tomb was held. When the bishops and emperor and clergy had returned to the church, the emperor delivered a homily of praise and consolation for the defunct, and the one whom he was going to summon to that same holy throne¹⁸⁷. He ordered the bishops to perform the patriarchal ritual over Proclus¹⁸⁸, and he installed him on the episcopal throne. When this had taken place, they celebrated the feast of Easter with great joy and many praises to the glory of our God.

In addition to this, letters [arrived] from Celestine, patriarch of Rome, and from Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, and from John, bishop of Antioch¹⁸⁹, to confirm the patriarchate of Proclus, to the effect that it was not foreign to the church of God to call the bishop of one city to another city for the edification of the faith, [674] especially the transfer of such a one as Proclus. Then they confirmed Proclus in the patriarchate, and he honoured the tomb of Maximianos¹⁹⁰.

CHAPTER 164

Concerning the promotion of Proclus and his excellent conduct on the patriarchal throne

[VII, 41]¹⁹¹ Here I reckon it appropriate to speak about Proclus. From an early age he was a reader of the church. *Having studied under the blessed John, he was learned in instruction after his death*¹⁹². He was expert in oratory. On attaining manhood he was ordained by Atticus to the diaconate, and was continually an aid to his teaching. Being excellently proficient in these matters, he was ordained to priestly orders by Atticus, and then to the bishopric of Cyzicus by Sisinnius, although previously others had gained that see. [675] But he was not troubled, as we wished to say

¹⁸⁷ SII has changed SI/Soc, where Theodosius arranges the consecration of Proclus before the burial of Maximianos, whose eulogy Proclus performed.

¹⁸⁸ Akinean, "P'ok'r Sokrat," 41, notes that this passage is quoted briefly by Anania Mokac'i, *Catholicos* 946-68.

¹⁸⁹ Here SII retains "bishop;" see p. 420 for Antioch as a patriarchate. But SII is not consistent; see, for example, p. 438-9.

¹⁹⁰ This seems to be an awkward reference to the eulogy, which according to SII was delivered by the emperor. Proclus was bishop of CP 12/4/434-12/7/446.

¹⁹¹ VII, 41: In SI/Soc: "Praise of Proclus."

¹⁹² As above, p. 639, SII claims that Proclus was a pupil of John's, which is not stated by Soc who stresses his training by Atticus, as in the next paragraph.

in one place [above]¹⁹³, and was preserved for the superior throne. *He was indeed called by Christ, because he was a man extremely good.*

I cannot name anyone similar to Proclus, trained by Atticus to benevolence; and I would even say that he lacked rancour more than him. For the latter showed himself awesome to opponents on occasion, whereas [Proclus] showed himself to all as patient and loving, *except for the schisms which he treated rigorously*¹⁹⁴. But he reproached the sects gently, and brought them to the truth, and did not disturb the respect for mildness in the church — in this resembling the emperor Theodosius. [676] The latter had chosen not to use royal authority against criminals, while [Proclus] exercised no little concern for mildness *because of Christ, the mild*¹⁹⁵ *and benevolent.*

[VII, 42]¹⁹⁶ So he was regarded by the emperor with even more love and honour.

CHAPTER 165

The emperor Theodosius was mild, and conducted wars against the barbarians not with armies, but rather by power from on high and not with arms; and how he gave his sister to Valentinian, the emperor of Rome; and the marriage

He resembled those truly priests and never excommunicated the arrogant, but emulated Moses who was admitted to be gentle, *and king David*, most especially with regard to wars. With prayers [677] rather than with arms he conducted wars, as was demonstrated against the tyrant John¹⁹⁷. And the savage barbarians went to destruction *as formerly God's Israel*. I do not relate this as flattery; but the emperor was truly good beyond these words, which being known to everyone I shall set down now. [VII, 43]¹⁹⁸ After the death of the tyrant John, the barbarians prepared the troops, *which they had received for assistance*¹⁹⁹, for war against the Romans to plunder and ravage the Romans. When the emperor heard of

¹⁹³ See VII, 28, p. 644.

¹⁹⁴ But SI/Soc state that he did not disturb any schism. See the next sentence!

¹⁹⁵ Mild: *ἡπιος*, as Mt. 11. 29.

¹⁹⁶ VII, 42: In SI/Soc: "Praise of Theodosius."

¹⁹⁷ Cf. VII, 22-23.

¹⁹⁸ VII, 43: In SI/Soc: "Destruction of the barbarians."

¹⁹⁹ In SI/Soc: the barbarians, whom the emperor had summoned for assistance, prepared for war.

this, as customary so for this matter too he cast his cares on God and devoted himself to prayer. Not long afterwards he was not disappointed of the hope that he sought to receive *from God*. [678] For the following good news befell the barbarians. Their prince, whose name was *Rodas*²⁰⁰, died after being struck by a thunder-bolt. Severe *wrath*²⁰¹ fell on them and destroyed the host of troops under him. Nor did this alone suffice, but because fire came down from heaven and burned up many of the survivors, it put the barbarians into awe and great fear — not for the fact that they had presumed to take up arms against the nation of the Romans, but rather because these had been helped by God. Then the bishop *Cyril*²⁰² of Alexandria reminded the emperor and everyone of God's salvation by means of the prophecy of Ezekiel: "And you, he said, [679] O son of man, prophesy concerning the prince of Romos. For I shall judge him with death and blood, and with flooding rain and hailstones. And fire and sulphur I shall rain down upon him and on all those with him. And I shall be magnified and made holy and glorified. And I shall be made known before many nations; *and they will know that I am Lord, I who make peace and confirm evil.*"²⁰³

Now there were other indications of his blessings, *visible and invisible*, which through God's providence were bestowed on him. *Although he did not have a son, he was not sad or miserable over that, but believed in God totally and not in the inclination of his own will.*

[VII, 44]²⁰⁴ Because he had a daughter named Eudoxia from his wife Eudocia, Valentinian, [680] who had been appointed emperor of Rome by Theodosius, requested her in marriage. The emperor *and empress* agreed to this and arranged the marriage. The emperor Valentinian came to Constantinople, and *beginning on the tenth of May they celebrated the marriage for fifty days*²⁰⁵. Then he took his wife and went to *Rome, having secured his empire in the western regions.*

²⁰⁰ Rugas in SI/Soc. for the easy confusion of *d* and *g* see above, p. 567.

²⁰¹ Wrath: *gnumadn* for the *ηδηνωλη*, "plague" of SI/Soc, in line with SII's preference for biblical expressions.

²⁰² Cyril of Alexandria: As SI for "Proclus" in Soc.

²⁰³ Ezech. 28. 2, 22-23, expanded at the end. "Romos:" SII has not understood the "Ros [and] Mosok" of SI/Soc.

²⁰⁴ VII, 44: In SI/Soc: "The marriage of Valentinian and Eudoxia." The printed text of SI omits this chapter; but since it appears in SII, the original translation must have included it.

²⁰⁵ According to Soc the marriage took place in the consulate of Isidore and Senatoris, i.e. 436; but Hansen, note ad loc, states that the actual date is likely to have been 29 October, 437. The source of SII's "10 May for fifty days" is unclear.

CHAPTER 166

The consolation of Proclus, who in concert with the emperor transferred the body of saint John, after thirty-five years of exile, to Constantinople with much honour

[VII, 45]²⁰⁶ Not long after this the bishop Proclus consoled those saddened about *the blessed* John. In what manner must be described. The body of John, which had been buried *in the region of Armenia*²⁰⁷, with the emperor's agreement he brought to Constantinople with great respect and honour, thirty-five years after his expulsion²⁰⁸, [681] *with psalms and blessings*, with crowds of laity; and he placed it in the church of *John the apostle*²⁰⁹. *And there was a voice from the body: "Peace be with you." Everyone in joy glorified God; and the grief in the church over him was assuaged.* But how did this happen?²¹⁰ *He was always one of the intelligent, and they did not exclude him from the beneficent. For envy can work many evils, [682] as was shown with regard to the blessed John. But his love directed towards God and zeal for virtue removed those scandals caused by him, and is able to prevent them, and renders glorious [those who act] in accordance with the hope of peace which was given us through the holy Spirit.*

[683]

CHAPTER 167

Paul, bishop of the Novatians, a beneficent man and supporter of consubstantiality, dies

[VII, 46]²¹¹ In these [times] Paul, the bishop of the Novatians, died. He was a beneficent man, perfect in virtue, and a staunch supporter of the consubstantial faith *in the Father and Son and holy Spirit*.

²⁰⁶ VII, 45: In SI/Soc: "The body of John Chrysostom is taken to Constantinople."

²⁰⁷ In the region of Armenia: for "in Comana of the Euxine Pontus," of SI, itself an addition to "in Comana" of Soc. Cf. above, p. 555.

²⁰⁸ Soc dates this reburial to 27 January of the sixteenth consulate of Theodosius, i.e. 438. This would be the thirty-fifth year after John's exile in 404.

²⁰⁹ In the Armenian *Life of John*, in VV, II, 138, the corpse uttered the following words "in the church of Irene where the patriarchate was" before reburial in the church of the Apostles; Soc merely refers to burial in the church of the Apostles.

²¹⁰ SII omits the comparison with Origen of SI/Soc, to whom the "envy" refers.

²¹¹ VII, 46: In SI/Soc: "The death of Paul." Soc dates this to 21 July "of the same year" [438].

[684]

CHAPTER 168

The emperor Theodosius, after many other good deeds, sends his wife Eudocia to Jerusalem, which she honoured with buildings and income

[VII, 47]²¹² Then the emperor Theodosius offered thankful vows to God in return for the many blessings he had received. And the following wonderful things he did with honour. He sent his wife Eudocia to Jerusalem, because she had *previously* promised to fulfil that vow there if she should see her daughter married. Furthermore, the churches around Jerusalem and all those in the eastern regions she honoured with various constructions. *On her going there she liberally distributed [685] income in the name of the poor; the worship of all the holy [places] was rendered worthy, and she returned*²¹³.

CHAPTER 169

*Concerning the death of Proclus and the succession of Flavian*²¹⁴

[VII, 48]²¹⁵ Now the bishop Proclus at those same times, in the seventeenth consulate of the emperor Theodosius²¹⁶, performed an amazing act, the like of which none of the previous bishops had performed. After Firmus the bishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia²¹⁷ had died, the people of Caesarea came seeking a bishop. While he was considering whom to ordain to that bishopric, it happened by the providence of God [686] that on a Saturday all the senators came to the church. Among them was Thalassius, who had the rank of eparch and the governance of the eastern regions. *He was universally famed for his beneficence.* Placing his hand on him, instead of eparch he ordained him bishop of Caesarea.

²¹² VII, 47: In SI/Soc: "Eudocia goes to Jerusalem."

²¹³ This last sentence is confused in both Armenian versions. Socrates states that Eudocia had honoured the churches around Jerusalem and in the eastern regions with various constructions "on her going and returning." SI had added: "When she went there she liberally distributed income in the name of the poor, and the worship of all the holy [places] was rendered worthy;" to which SII adds "and she returned."

²¹⁴ The titles of chs. 169 and 170 in SII should be reversed! The final chapter on the death of Proclus does not appear in SI/Soc.

²¹⁵ VII, 48: In SI/Soc: "Proclus ordains Thalassius."

²¹⁶ I.e. in 439.

²¹⁷ Of Cappadocia: as Soc, but omitted in the printed text of SI.

He demonstrated no few acts of rectitude. Proclus all the days of his life confirmed the churches of God in the orthodox faith in the consubstantial Trinity.

CHAPTER 170

*How the eparch Thalassius was ordained bishop of Caesarea*²¹⁸

*After this the blessed Proclus died, and Flavian occupied the patriarchal throne and began to teach against the blasphemy of Nestorius*²¹⁹. *Then a certain monk Eutyches in the island of Kos postulated one nature in opposition to Flavian, writing eight chapters*²²⁰. *He did not confess that the Word God took flesh from the holy virgin and became man, but said: "He took nothing from the virgin Mary, save only the likeness of a man, and was in form like a man and not truly God made man."* *Flavian assembled [687] his like-minded bishops and deposed Eutyches from the priesthood.*

*When the blessed emperor Theodosius knew of their dispute, he ordered a second council to be held in Ephesus, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign*²²¹. *He made an enquiry concerning Flavian and Eutyches, and [told them] to look at the Tome of Leo, the fourteenth chapter written to Flavian concerning the error of Eutyches. When his honourable command arrived, they exiled Eutyches and Flavian, and in his place ordained Anatolius*²²². *They also deposed Theodoret, bishop of the city of Beirut*²²³, *and Edemnos, bishop of Antioch, in whose place Maximius was ordained bishop by the council. And there was peace in the days of the pious emperor Theodosius.*

²¹⁸ Ch. 170: This should be the title to the preceding chapter.

²¹⁹ Proclus died on 12/7/446. Flavian, bishop July 445 to August 449.

²²⁰ That Eutyches was a monk, *ἡσυχαστής*, on Kos appears in the *Anon Chron*, 60, which quotes most of the rest of this chapter. Lazar, in his *Letter*, 192, however, refers to Eutyches as "of Constantinople."

²²¹ 29th year: i.e. 431. The *Anon Chron*, 60, wrongly has "25th." The second council of Ephesus, however, was held in 449. None of this confused chapter appears in Socrates or SI.

²²² When his... Anatolius: This sentence is not repeated in the *Anon Chron*. Anatolius was bishop of CP from November 449 to July 458.

²²³ Beirut: sic! The correct "Cyrus" is found in the MS A, as also in the *Anon. Chron.*, 62, which expands this brief account. Cf. also the resumé in Vardan, 83.

CHAPTER 171

*Colophon of the author Socrates*²²⁴

Behold, your command, O priest of God²²⁵, I have completed. [688] I have laboured at my history in accordance with my plan, beginning my historical composition from the times of Constantine. But let no one blame or calumniate us on the grounds that I have skimpily narrated the histories of the saints and not eloquently engaged in their praises. I have two reasons to say this: although the church of God possesses the full histories of the saints, of bishops and kings and of all virtuous persons, yet perhaps we may fall away from knowledge of them; and again that we may not be able to describe in accordance with the old historians these valiant ones with befitting praises and to expound the most wicked, which urges many on to strive for piety.

So let the undertaking of these two instructive purposes not be unprofitable, though we may not be able to compare them worthily with the old histories. As for the ignorant, because they cannot comprehend clearly the exposition of these things, for this reason we have included them in our history; because we have not deployed with praise the names of the saints which they love, or magnified their deeds, for we have left [these matters] to each history as they expressed it. Concerning bishops and kings, not with as much honour as they had and have, but briefly I passed over what I saw and what I was able to discern from eye-witnesses. Choosing the true, I set down what did not vary in the accounts of those narrating these events. Confidently the truth will be recognised of all the many things related through the activity of those who were present, to make known which were the most worthy [of belief] out of the whole²²⁶.

²²⁴ This colophon is based on the Armenian version of Socrates's own Preface to Book VI, p. 486-7. The first sentence is closely based on SI, the rest only loosely so.

²²⁵ Soc/SI refer here to Theodore, the patron of this History, to whom Socrates also refers in his Preface to Book II and VII, 48, passages found in SI but omitted in SII.

²²⁶ The grammar of these two paragraphs in SII is not at all clear, though the sense follows the Preface in Soc/SI to Book VI.

[689] But we stop our history here²²⁷, O lord Nerseh Kamsarakan, ex-consul [and] patrician, who are a builder of churches. May you ever have peace in Christ, who is the perpetual giver of peace. May you have the zeal of pious kings to confirm in your own self striving for piety. In no way to give excuses and be lost from the paths of righteousness, nor may you be dragged and led astray to opposition which is borne downwards. But thinking of heavenly things, may you flee from preoccupations and follow righteousness, faith and love, seizing life eternal like the most pious emperor Theodosius. And may everything, whatever you do, be successful for you; and battle be won through prayer, as you heard from this History, which we indeed saw; so that the peace of Christ may dwell in you abundantly, and in your churches and country. May you go along the path of kings, like those of this History which you desired translated, [690] through the grace and benevolence of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, with whom to the Father almighty and the holy Spirit may there be glory, power and honour, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.

²²⁷ But... here: This is taken from SI, introducing the final exordium of Socrates, which is omitted in SII. The rest of the colophon is by the redactor. See the Introduction, 35-38, for discussion.

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